THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Same Old GOP

For the last year or two, a lot has been said in the press about a new spirit in the Republican Party. We have been given to understand that the Tories were no longer in the saddle, that the party realized it must keep up with the times and was prepared to do so. Yet a few days ago when these new principles were tested, they seemed dismally lacking. The Republican National Committee elected to its executive committee former Senator D. O. Hastings of Delaware, a spokesman for the duPonts and as complete a reactionary as can be found in the country. In doing so, the committee passed over Kenneth Simpson of New York, one of the younger and more liberal leaders. While Mr. Simpson is far from being our idea of a leftist, he is a tower of light and learning compared with Mr. Hastings. It is our guess that the election of November has had a lot to do with the sudden Republican recidivism. Their leaders interpret the result as showing that the country is tired of the liberals and that the GOP can safely go in for black reaction. We hope they continue in this frame of mind; it will greatly lessen the chance of a Republican victory in 1940.

The Case of the Electrical Workers

In the Supreme Court decision on the Consolidated Edison case in New York the National Labor Relations Board has suffered its first important reverse among the many cases that have been appealed to the Court. This reverse, however, is extremely limited in its application. The Board had issued an order invalidating a contract between Consolidated Edison of New York and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, on the ground that there was no proof that this A. F. of L. union really represented the employees. A CIO organizing campaign was under way, the CIO union had many members, and the Board believed that the contract was signed to head off this campaign, much in the same way that employers sometimes organize and contract with company unions—an illegal practice. The order of the Board was attacked by the Electrical Workers' union on several grounds. The Court held that the Board had jurisdiction, since the company was not a purely state affair. But it decided—with two dissenting on this point—that the Board did not present sufficient proof that the IBEW did not represent the employees, and that it should have given this organization a chance to make good its claim. The Court, however, specified that the union could not, in the circumstances, be the sole bargaining agent, but could bargain only for its own members. While the Labor Board is thus partially defeated in this particular case, the way is still open to stop the kind of unfair practice against which it wishes to protect the workers, if it will adopt a different procedure.

The Lamb Signs with the Wolf

France and Germany have solemnly gone through with the hocus-pocus of a non-aggression pact, accompanied by negotiations looking toward an increase in trade. It would be unfair to say that the new under-

CONTENTS

The Week 157

Editorials
- Behind the Monopoly Inquiry 160
- Essentials at Lima 161
- Who Won the French Strike? 162

General Articles
- Pots and Kettles at Lima . Katherine Carr 163
- Intimate View (verse) . . Babette Deutsch 164
- The Catholic Church in Politics: V . . . . . Leo H. Lehmann 165
- Southerners Inspect the South . W. T. Couch 168
- Shoot the Works . . . Heywood Broun 170
- Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 171
- Other People's Money . . John T. Flynn 172
- Rockets Old and New . . . Stark Young 173
- Whether to Laugh or Cry . . Otis Ferguson 174
- The Bandwagon 175

Correspondence 175

Books in Review
- A Yankee in Never-Never Land . . . . . Matthew Josephson 177
- A Lesson for Democracy . . G. A. Borgese 178
- Why It Happened There . Leo Huberman 179
- How Life Began . . . . Harold Ward 181
- He, Belisarius . . . . . Basil Bunting 182
- Shanghai to Istanbul . . Richard Vaughan 183
- New Books: A Reader's List 183

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standing between two old enemies means absolutely nothing; it is testimony that France will try earnestly to satisfy Mr. Chamberlain's desires for a four-power agreement in Western Europe. Beyond that, however, it has little significance. Hitler said in "Mein Kampf" that France is the great enemy and that finally she must be attacked; he has not changed his mind. There is good reason to believe that the Nazi timetable of aggressive demands includes in the fairly near future an attempt to seize Alsace. It suits Der Führer's schemes to give an appearance of solidarity in the West now, partly for its effect on Poland and Soviet Russia; but the mask will be removed when the time comes. The French know this, which is an added reason why the life of the Daladier government is not likely to be long.

Manufactured Agitation in Italy

There is no spontaneous public opinion in Italy, any more than there is in Germany. When Italian newspapers and orators suddenly begin to demand that territory be taken away from France, including Tunisia and part of the Riviera, it is perfectly certain that Mussolini is behind the action, and his denials may be brushed aside. As to why he took this action at this time, there are several things to be said: 1. The standard procedure of the Italian and German dictatorships is now for them to take turns in abusing France and England respectively, as a part of their general blackmailing process. 2. Germany wanted the Italians to raise a row on the eve of the signing of the French-German non-aggression compact, in order to show France the impossibility of a general German guarantee of all French frontiers, including those in the North African colonies. 3. Mussolini himself feels that he is being left out of the picture too much, and that the louder he screams the more likely he is to get some attention paid to him. In particular, he would like to get a sharp reduction of Suez Canal tolls and of freight charges on the French-owned railway from Jibouti to Addis Ababa. In fact, however, he might about as well have saved his breath. Mr. Chamberlain is going to Rome in January to continue his famous policy of "appeasement." As they are saying now in England, "if at first you don't concede, fly, fly again." The dictators are insatiable; the Chamberlain policy is an impossible one, yet it is clear that he intends to push it still further.

The C. of C., Guns and Money

To our mild surprise, we find ourselves agreeing in part with the committee on federal finance of the United States Chamber of Commerce. The committee is opposed to vast outlays for the national defense. It says—and we think it is right—that such expenditures make a poor sort of "pump-priming." At this point, however, we part company with the C. of C. We look askance at the schemes for armament because we fear that they will be made a device for ladling out vast quantities of government money in quarters where it ought not to go and for purposes which have nothing to do with genuine defense. The C. of C. wants relief projects suspended and the unemployed sent back to sit idle in their homes and wait for the dole. It demands an end of deficit budgets without any increase in taxation. The authors of this report are true Bourbons in that they have forgotten nothing and learned nothing. The government took their advice in 1937 and brought on the depression from which we are only now emerging. Our own program is simple. Let's spend on the national defense only as much as it is proved that the national defense really needs. Let's spend on the pump-priming projects whatever can be expended profitably to the end that the country shall have the benefit of the work done, and that we shall preserve the great national asset to be found in the morale and the skills of our millions of workers for whom private industry, which the C. of C. represents, has found no room.

Battleship Budget

A month ago we printed a short editorial discussing the size of the private bids for three out of the Navy Department's four new battleships. The estimates came to about $55,000,000 apiece for hull and machinery alone—a figure which would bring the total construction cost of each to about $70,000,000. There was no real competition in the bidding (each of the three companies entered an estimate for one ship only) and, in comparison with the cost of the last three battleships, built for about $27,000,000 apiece, the price seemed steep. The New York Union of Marine Draftsmen and Technicians, which is the Brooklyn Navy Yard chapter of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, has the same feeling. The union charges that the contracts let by the Navy Department to the Newport News, Bethlehem and New York companies for the 35,000-ton capital ships represent approximately $15,000,000 more per ship than the Navy Yard estimates for the same work on the 35,000-ton "Washington" and the "North Carolina," now under construction in Brooklyn and Philadelphia. In a telegram to President Roosevelt the union declared that $45,000,000 could be saved by having the three new ships constructed in government navy yards and that these yards have the facilities and man-power to handle the job. Battleship building and its cost are a highly technical subject. We cannot venture an opinion on the merits of these charges, but it seems clear that the Navy Department should not give the job to the private companies unless it can prove the union is wrong.

Funny Business in Birmingham

Who runs politics in Alabama? This question may appropriately be asked as a footnote to the article by W. T. Couch, on page 168 of this issue, reporting the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Mr. Couch

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describes the trouble that was made for the conference over the matter of segregating the white and Negro delegates. There is solid evidence that before the conference even began, deliberate plans were laid to make as much trouble as possible. Individuals connected with the Republican Party in Alabama (did you know there was one?) broadcast the false charge that this conference was inspired and controlled by Communists. Mr. Eugene Connor, the commissioner of public safety in Birmingham, who is himself in politics, was asked well in advance to provide police officers to direct the crowds entering the city auditorium so that the ordinance covering race segregation would be respected. Mr. Connor at first refused and finally, under great pressure, consented. He failed to make good on his promise, however, and the police were not present at the beginning. The fictitious issue of race segregation is now being used by the Birmingham, Jefferson County and Alabama Women's Democratic Club for purposes of their own. They are trying to force Mrs. Louise O. Charlton, honorary chairman of the conference, to resign from the State Democratic Committee. The Tory ladies of these clubs are seeking to have the Alabama delegation at the next National Democratic Convention pledged to Senator Bankhead, as a move hostile to President Roosevelt. It might be a good idea to hold another Southern conference on human welfare devoted to the funny people and the funny doings in Birmingham.

Connecticut Get-Together

A spy reports to us that the Connecticut Writers' Conference, held in New Haven on December 4, was quite a lively affair. There are lots of writers in the Nutmeg State, and about sixty of them attended as delegates. They came prepared to speak on such general topics as Fascism and Censorship and the Writer's Role; and in fact they did so, at no small length. But they were also confronted by local needs and problems —for example, by representatives of the A. F. of L. and the CIO who wanted speakers at union meetings, teachers in labor schools and contributions to trade-union papers—with the result that the discussions had a practical, down-to-earth quality that was somewhat lacking in the two national writers' congresses held in New York City. The Connecticut conference was also distinguished by two of the dozen papers that were read. One of them was by Van Wyck Brooks, who was making what we are told was his first appearance on any public platform. He analyzed the Yankee tradition and gave a candid statement of his own political beliefs, recapturing the confident mood of those early essays in which he announced America's coming-of-age. Odell Shepard had been asked to speak on "Connecticut Culture: Its Past and Present." He did speak, for twenty minutes, but it was in blank verse, full of picturesque anger against billboards and filling stations and the water companies that are now drowning out whole villages. It was the first time on record that a writers' conference had actually produced a poem.

What Does Ford Think?

Many of the newspapers carried a story from Detroit with a November 30 dateline. It contained an "authorized" statement by Henry Ford in which he recommended the United States as a haven for the Jewish victims of Nazi terrorism, praised the "ability and loyalty" of his Jewish employees and disavowed any sympathy with Nazism. The statement was supposed to have been issued by Mr. Ford as a result of his meeting with Rabbi Leo M. Franklin of Detroit, a leading worker in the task of finding refuge for the homeless Germans. About a week later Father Coughlin, in his radio address, described the statement as "inaccurate." Coughlin said it had been written by Rabbi Franklin, not by Mr. Ford; that Mr. Ford had actually said he believed there was little or no persecution in Germany. If there was any, Mr. Ford said (according to Father Coughlin) it was due not to the German government but to the war mongers, the international bankers. He expressed his humanitarian feeling for all people, but he believed Jews wouldn't be content to work in factories. He did not mention or criticize Nazism. All this information Father Coughlin had, indirectly, from Harry Bennett, Ford's personnel manager, who was present at the meeting. For fifteen years or more there have been reports that Henry Ford is an anti-Semite. In recent months there have been suspicions as well that he is a friend of Nazism; suspicions seemingly supported by the fact he received a decoration from the German government. If anyone cares what he thinks about such matters, it is time for Henry Ford to speak his mind.

One Tablet and the Other

There are two Catholic papers called The Tablet, one published in London, one in Brooklyn, New York. In its issue of October 15, the one in London published an article by Miss D. J. Collins, a distinguished British Catholic surgeon. Miss Collins, who had just returned from a trip to Spain, reported that there are 3,000 Roman Catholic priests in Barcelona, and that no one has any difficulty in attending mass there, weekdays or Sundays. She said the government was anxious to open the churches publicly and that this move has not yet been taken only because the Vicar-General of the Church had advised against it.

Thus The London Tablet on October 15. On November 16, a month and a day later, we find The Brooklyn Tablet denouncing the persecutions in Germany but regretting that the general protest has "not been widened to include the far worse crimes committed against the Catholics of Spain."

Required reading for Father Francis J. Healy, editor of The Brooklyn Tablet: The London Tablet.

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New Magazine

Frank Gannett, the newspaper publisher and chairman of the National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government, has sent us a copy of his new monthly magazine, America's Future. It contains twenty-four pages about Saturday Evening Post size and lots of illustrations printed in rotogravure like the magazine sections of Sunday newspapers. The title, America's Future, is misleading. Mr. Gannett's latest publishing venture might have been called, more properly, Smear Roosevelt. For it contains almost nothing besides ponderous broadsides aimed at the President and the New Deal administration. Amos Pinchot contributes his open letter to John L. Lewis, Representative Samuel B. Pettengill writes on "The Purge Comes to America," and there is an assortment of similar material by Ray Tucker, James Truslow Adams and Conrad H. Mann. The leading editorial, "America's Future Is in the Balance" (in which the phrase "our Constitution" appears eleven times), sets the pace for this and, we suppose, the succeeding issues. It says our constitutional form of government is threatened by President Roosevelt's "titanic effort to obtain a rubber-stamp Congress" and the choice before us is to go ahead under our present form of government or "to be led astray on a road that leads to one-man rule, to serfdom, to a loss of our precious liberties, to a dictatorship." The house ad on the back cover asks, coyly, "Do you like us?" We don't need to answer.

News Notes of a Week

Germany announced what must be very nearly the last chapter of her persecution of the Jews. A great part of all the remaining Jewish wealth is to be confiscated under the pretext of trusteeship. . . . The United States is making a $50,000,000 loan to Cuba through the Export-Import Bank. Colonel Batista's visit wasn't wasted. . . . Again the Chinese military forces came within a few miles of Canton in their effort to retake the city. . . . After an interval of quiet in Spain, the Loyalists prepared to resist an expected heavy Franco offensive. . . . An uprising by the Iron Guard took place in Rumania after a number of its leaders had been arrested and "shot while trying to escape."

At home, there was a rising tide of protests against the plan to make heavy reductions in the WPA. . . . The Dies Committee on Un-American Activity continued its un-American activity of slandering all sorts of innocent citizens without the slightest respect for truth or the ordinary amenities. . . . President Roosevelt made a speech in which he defied his foes, pledged himself to liberalism and repudiated the dictatorships. . . . For some inexplicable reason the press gave vast space to the proposals of Mr. C. W. Hazelett, who wants low taxation rates on anybody who helps to speed up production but high rates on those who interfere with it, whether they represent labor or capital.

Behind the Monopoly Inquiry

THOSE WHO PLANNED THE MONOPOLY INQUIRY have done a good job in setting the stage, during the first few days of their hearings, for the detailed material that is to come later. With masses of statistics, well organized and explained, two of the most brilliant and sound of the younger economists in the country have told us the circumstances that make an investigation of business practices pertinent, and have shown why monopoly may be playing an important part.

Dr. Isador Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, after showing the tremendous losses to the population caused by the decline of production under 1929 levels, pointed out on a large scale what must be done to bring production and employment up where they ought to be. We can no longer rely on growth of population, for population increase is slowing down and in another twenty years may cease altogether. Larger consumption per family is the only way to create the necessary demand for industrial and agricultural products. At least half the market for these products lies with the 54 percent of the families having $1,250 a year or less. If each of these families had $2 more a day to spend than at present, and if prices did not rise, we should now be producing, on the average, at full capacity. Dr. Lubin worked out the expected result in industry after industry, on the basis of family budgets in the income classes above $1,250. Producers of oranges, for instance, could expect an increase in sales of $11,000,000 annually. Automobile merchants could look for $119,000,000 more, clothing $416,000,000, housing $613,000,000, medical care $208,000,000, food $800,000,000, etc.

It might be asked what all this has to do with monopoly. Why is it not merely an argument for more government spending on relief, or for Douglas consumer credit, or for some other ingenious scheme to put more money into the hands of low-income groups? It is true that a large variety of expedients might be advocated to increase mass purchasing power. But, if our system is ever to operate without external stimulants, our people must be able to earn for their work in industry and agriculture enough to buy the products of one another at full productive capacity. What is it that prevents them from so doing? Here is where business practices may come in. If business concerns pay too little for raw materials and labor on the one hand, and charge too much for their products on the other, they diminish the power of farmers and workers to buy, and thus curtail mass purchasing power, with disastrous effects on production and employment. It is no answer to say that those who receive the profits can buy the surplus, first because, as Mr. Lubin points out, the low-income families must be relied upon as customers for half or more of our product, and second, because restrictions of production reduce profits themselves.

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Under perfect competition, business would theoretically not be able to pay too little or charge too much. But as business power over competition increases, the ability to restrict mass purchasing power by these means increases too. Are we therefore facing a problem of monopoly extortion? Here Mr. Willard L. Thorp, now with the Department of Commerce and lately with Dun and Bradstreet, contributes enlightening information, well enough known to economists, but needing restatement for this purpose. There are only one or two complete single-company monopolies in important industries in the United States. To look for monopoly in the ordinary or crude sense would be to tilt at windmills. Nevertheless there is a high degree of business concentration among a small number of large concerns. Two, three or more corporations control the bulk of the business in important industries; their wage and price policies govern in these industries. How are these policies determined? There is the most fruitful field for investigation. Certain other industries are composed of many units and are subject to a high degree of competition. In the economic struggle, are these industries exploited by the more highly concentrated ones? Or do monopolistic practices exist, by agreement or understanding, even in industries with many small units?

We shall watch with interest the light that may be thrown on these questions by more detailed investigation. It is significant, we believe, that the inquiry is not simply an expression of the old ethical opposition to bigness, but an apparently well reasoned attempt to find out how our economy works, and why it works so badly.

Essentials at Lima

IT IS NECESSARY to get things straight in the Pan-American Conference at Lima. The dominant feeling in the United States at the moment is a resurgence of belief in the Monroe Doctrine. Now that aggressive and dictator-governed nations are gaining the ascendancy in Europe, we are more resolved than ever that no European—or, for that matter, Asiatic—nation shall obtain additional territory in the Western Hemisphere, or establish naval or air bases within striking distance of this country. That is a simple matter of national defense. This resolution is understood throughout Latin America, and will doubtless come to be accepted as an unalterable fact, even if it is not so accepted already. But there is no difficulty about effectuating this policy. The United States already has sufficient naval and military power to render it effective, even without the aid of any other American country, and without further armament. A moderately strong fleet with bases in the Caribbean can interpose an absolute veto on European territorial aggression on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. It is not a matter of a gigantic naval and air establishment, sufficient to police the shores of the American continents. No conference is necessary to implement it.

The real dangers of Fascist or Nazi penetration are of a different order entirely, and are not so well understood here. In South America there are large Italian and German populations, and of course the bulk of the people are of Spanish or Portuguese extraction. Many of them look to Europe for cultural and political leadership. Much of their commerce is across the Atlantic, since they produce raw materials and foodstuffs which Europe needs but in which the United States is more nearly self-sufficient. In all these nations there are native reactionary elements; many of them are accustomed to the politics of dictatorship. German, Italian and Spanish Fascist propagandists are active, and will become more influential the more strongly fascism establishes itself in the old world. The standard Fascist and Nazi method of conquest is not merely to threaten with military force, but to build up sympathetic movements within the intended victim-states and to profit from internal dissension.

We also, of course, have a considerable trade with Latin America and have invested there a good deal of capital. Our intangible advantages in standing off hostile European influence are mainly of two kinds—first, that all these nations freed themselves from European oppression by struggle, just as we did, and second, that they are, by form and tradition if not always in substance, constitutional democracies. Much may be done with these bonds of sympathy if we do not ourselves betray our own cause. Unfortunately we have often done so in the past. The influence of our capitalist imperialism has, in recent decades, strengthened the reactionary influences within Latin America and has tended to weaken their democracy. Furthermore, both the diplomatic and the military action of this government has been exercised to protect North American property holders against democratic or progressive movements. To proud and independent nations like those of Latin America, it seems ironic that they should be expected to be grateful for our protection against extremely hypothetical European aggression while they may be in real danger from our own warships, marines and aggregations of capital. And of course Nazi and Fascist propaganda is quick to take advantage of this opening.

A case in point is the recent controversy with Mexico. Mexico, under her own constitution and law, has expropriated a good deal of land owned by foreigners as well as that owned by Mexicans, and has recently gone on to take over oil wells. Our Department of State has been active in protesting and in attempting to obtain compensation for the landowners. Meanwhile the oil companies, both British and American, have been boycotting the sale of oil from Mexican wells, as a means of bringing the Mexican government to terms. If our government had listened to the propaganda of the property interests, it would have threatened stern measures to collect what they believe is due. Even as it is,

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the boycott has compelled the Mexican government to sell large amounts of oil (indirectly, to be sure) to Germany, and to accept in turn credits which can only be realized upon by imports from Germany. Meanwhile Nazi propaganda has been intensified in Mexico to press its advantage—in spite of the fact that the Mexican government is anti-Fascist and pro-labor. Standard Oil and Shell are probably the best allies Hitler has at the moment in Latin America.

Under President Roosevelt, the "good-neighbor policy" has in effect assured the Latin Americans that we will not use marines to press claims or collect debts. That is a great gain. But they know he will not always be in office. There is a movement to gain acceptance at Lima, in treaty form, of the principle that foreign investors shall be entitled only to the same rights and protection that are accorded to domestic property owners. They should submit to the law and the courts of the nations in which their interests lie. That is the only principle we would accept in regard to foreign investors in the United States. It is the only principle accepted by strong and self-respecting nations anywhere. Writing into the international law of this hemisphere such a principle would go far to allay fear and cement friendship. It would do much more than any military convention or Pan-American League.

It is along this line that we must move if we would further democratic solidarity in the Americas. Neither Hitler nor Mussolini will ever against our will conquer by force of arms one square inch of territory on this continent. But our own financial imperialism can help to kill democracy and to throw American nations into the European dictators' arms.

Who Won the French Strike?

THE FRENCH "GENERAL STRIKE" of November 30 was not an ordinary strike and was never planned to be one. From the beginning, it was announced that it would last one day only. It was therefore a demonstration of strength and a protest against French government policy; but it was not intended, as an unlimited strike might have been, to force a change of policy or create a revolutionary situation.

In spite of these facts, most of the American newspapers that we have seen insisted upon treating the strike as though it were in fact a revolution; and when it came to an end on schedule, they acted as though Daladier, the strong man, had given a resounding defeat to the French trade unions. The lesson intended to be conveyed was all too plain: French trade unionism had been too aggressive, had been repulsed, and American trade unionism had better take warning.

This interpretation was aided by the censorship of the Daladier government itself. It sought sedulously to give the same sort of impression, that the strike might have gone on indefinitely, but that firm action prevented it from doing so. Daladier, no doubt, is actuated by the well grounded fear that his government is about to fall. He is trying to make credit for himself with the middle class as best he can, but there is no reason why Americans should swallow his propaganda.

As a demonstration, the one-day strike was a much greater success than most readers of conservative American newspapers probably realize. Many thousands of workers left their posts; many thousands of others were kept at work only by the institution of emergency decrees such as are commonly used only in wartime, subjecting one who violates them to military penalties. Some estimates of the proportion of private business that was closed down run as high as 80 percent.

Since the end of the one-day demonstration, trouble has continued. Many employers, who share with their American opposite numbers the desire to smash the unions if they can, have locked out their employees. Daladier, sympathetic with these ambitions, started to impose harsh penalties on strike leaders and then thought better of it when he saw into what this would lead him. The protest strike of maritime workers tied up Le Hâvre completely and forced a cancellation of the sailing of the "Normandie." The reprisals have left labor in an ugly mood and trouble will continue.

On the face of the facts, the one-day demonstration was far from being a failure. Since, however, the purpose was to convince public opinion as a whole and since Daladier was able to poison public opinion at the source, the strike was only partially effective in its primary purpose. The victory won in the factories and mines was lost in the columns of the newspapers. Such defeats, however, are not permanent. Daladier may persuade the press that he is strong, but it is labor that builds airplanes, makes shells, keeps France going. The French unions have not been destroyed like those of Germany and Italy. They must still be reckoned with.

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Pots and Kettles at Lima

THE LIMA CONFERENCE is expected to confer a Pan American blessing on the United States' recently announced policy of "self-defense on a hemisphere basis." We are preparing to defend the United States, and, incidentally, the whole of Latin America, against Fascist aggression. The assumption is that the Latin American nations will gladly agree to help us protect them; but if not, we are apparently prepared to undertake, single-handed, the preservation of democracy in this half of the world. The Monroe Doctrine has been aggressively reaffirmed and is to be enforced this time with airplanes instead of Marines.

Now the Monroe Doctrine declared that the United States would "view with displeasure" any attempts at foreign intervention in Latin America, but it left us entirely free to exercise our protective mission as we saw fit. The Doctrine did prevent Germany from sending battleships to Venezuela to collect a debt; but it enabled us to send our Marines to "preserve order" by force in various Caribbean ports. It did prevent the French and the English from acquiring any share of control over the Panama Canal; but our own record in that matter is glossed over in our history books. (Theodore Roosevelt's defense of his course to his Cabinet made Elihu Root remark that the President had proven himself innocent of seduction and guilty of rape.) Under the Doctrine the last vestiges of Spanish control disappeared from the New World, and French rule under Maximilian in Mexico came to an unhappy end. But until very recently the United Fruit Company made and unmade governments at will in Colombia; and the Guggenheims in Chile, the Cerro de Pasco and Grace companies in Peru, the ubiquitous Electric Bond and Share Company, and many others, with their emphatic denials of any interest whatsoever in Latin American politics, have been inclined to protest too much.

Moreover, there are those in South America who refer to the Chaco War as the "Standard Oil War," although Standard Oil formally denied it to the State Department in 1933, and as recently as May, 1938, felt it necessary to deny that it was encouraging a revolution in Bolivia to get back its confiscated properties. The Nye investigation brought out facts regarding munition sales to Latin American revolutionaries which left the Curtiss Wright Corporation, the Electric Boat Company and the United States government itself somewhat besmirched. Another congressional investigation showed that the American bankers of the gaudy nineteen-twenties, in their eagerness to provide loans for the Latin American countries, knowingly saddled those countries with a burden of debt hopelessly beyond their capacity to pay. And all this activity, like the Doctrine itself, was of course undertaken with the noblest motives. American business men with large stakes in Latin America are fond of pointing out that they have done more to develop those countries than the countries could ever have done themselves.

To the Latin Americans, however, it is the deeds, not the words, that matter. Their reaction to what we have done has not been gratitude, but rather widespread hatred and fear of the "Colossus of the North." They point out that the Monroe Doctrine, no matter how beautifully expressed, is a unilateral declaration with distinctly imperialistic overtones, which has operated entirely to our advantage. They don't call our activities "protection" or "development." They call them "exploitation." To a Latin American a North American is just as much of a "damn foreigner" as a German or a Japanese. They see very little to choose between Nazi propaganda activities and the efforts of a large American corporation to keep a favorable government in power.

The Latin Americans, as a matter of fact, are by no means so enamoured of the Fascist governments as we fear, despite the scope of the German and Italian propaganda drive. That drive is well organized, incessant and all-pervasive, with the large German and Italian colonies serving at once as bases and as targets. Yet those colonies were established before the advent of fascism, during the great waves of immigration which sent so many thousands to the United States as well as to Latin America. Those who have emigrated recently from Germany and Italy have been, for the most part, refugees, since Hitler and Mussolini do not encourage good Fascists to leave home. Before the World War the large German colony in Brazil was marked on the Fatherland maps as a part of the future empire. Yet it not only refused to carry on any subversive activities during the War, but Brazil was the only South American country to declare war on the Central Powers.

More immediately successful has been the German trade campaign, which has frightened us badly. We still supply about twice as many of Latin America's imports as does Germany, but Germany's strength has consisted in her eagerness to take the products Latin America has to sell in order to survive. We don't want Brazilian cotton, for example; Germany does. To be sure, German trade rests on the "aski mark" basis, which necessitates purchase of German goods in return, but the important thing to Brazil has been to get her cotton sold. When large balances of blocked marks began to appear; when it was found that certain needed products were not to be got from Germany, and there was no free exchange to buy them elsewhere; when Germany began selling the excess cotton herself and

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getting the benefit of the exchange; when German deliveries were six and eight months late, enthusiasm for the agreements began to wane, and is still waning. And when it became apparent that along with German trade there was thrown in, free, Nazi ideology and propaganda, the press in many countries, notably Brazil, Chile and Argentina, blazed with criticism of Nazi methods. Latin Americans everywhere began to smell another imperialistic rat.

Latin America wants neither a political nor an economic bondage imposed upon it—from the North or from the East. Argentina has forbidden the singing of all foreign national anthems, including "The Star Spangled Banner." Foreign property, including American, has been expropriated in Mexico. Yet the possibility that Latin Americans are cleverer than we at smelling out a Fascist, even in American or English dress, has not occurred to us. To us, the control of Latin America by American capital has never had any Fascist implications; it has been actuated by the most high-minded motives. That such a fine distinction escapes the Latin American pains us immeasurably, and mature political thinking on the part of our "little brothers" comes as an unpleasant surprise.

The Latin Americans are under no delusion as to our need for their friendship. They know, too, that they cannot afford to lose us, that in a European war the north and south trade routes will be all-important to them. They know how desperately England needs the oil of Venezuela and Mexico. They realize what is behind Hitler's talk of the necessary solidarity of all Germans, everywhere, and what Mussolini means when he talks about "Latin cultural unity." But they don't see why they should be anyone's cat's-paw.

The outstanding quality, common to all Latin American republics, and ignored by both the United States and the Fascist powers, is their extreme nationalism. They want to run their countries themselves, in their own way. They are tired of foreign influence and attempted coercion. They want the profits from their own resources, and they want to sell their products to their own best advantage.

The strength of Latin America lies in this nationalism. The twenty-one republics may be fifty years behind us in economic development, but they are awake, they are progressing. Critics point out that the existence of semi-Fascist dictatorships in almost every one of those republics indicates that they are developing in the wrong way. They say the United States should make sure, as a wise big brother, that they turn to the paths of democracy we endorse. But Latin America has our same tradition of democracy. It is part of the New World—it fought for its independence from Spain just as we fought for ours from England. Its democracy may not be perfect, but it remarks with some justice that the United States' brand isn't always perfect, either.

The Latin American dictatorships, moreover, are not the Fascist type we know. European dictatorships have been imposed on industrial civilizations. The Latin American countries are semi-feudal, agrarian economies, still ruled, as in colonial days, by the land-owning classes. And even so, the days of the plush-and-gold dictator-generals, kept in power by the large land-owners, are numbered. With the strenuous industrialism that is the local expression of nationalism, a new and powerful middle class is developing. Everywhere the economic and political stranglehold of the feudal lords of the land is being challenged. Trade unions are sprouting and young intelligent Latin Americans look with as much disfavor on their own un-democratic governments as they do on foreign dictatorships, or on American or British corporations who would like to run their countries for them.

If we are wise, we shall recognize this youthful spirit of nationalism as the strongest defender of democracy in this hemisphere. We shall not offend it further by an attempted return to the "father-knows-best" attitude enforced by the big stick. We shall not categorically announce at Lima a policy in which Latin American cooperation is essential, and demand acquiescence. Instead, we shall confer with our southern neighbors as though they were sovereign states, not protectorates. We shall stress the Good Neighbor idea—a policy which has had unparalleled success in Latin America because it implies, and appears for the first time to mean, that there is an equality between us and our sister republics. Our business men won't like it; the banks, the oil companies, the electric-power companies and the rest will shout to the skies that American "interests" are being sold out, betrayed. But if we are realistic, we shall recognize that encouragement of that native nationalism which repudiates both foreign capitalistic control and foreign economic control—encouragement even at the expense of certain private financial interests—will do more than Marines or battleships or airplanes can ever do to "make this hemisphere safe for Democracy."

KATHERINE CARR

Intimate View

This is the private face, stupid as crime,
The hair, the mouth awry, eyes thick with tears:
The image of the stained disordered years
Marked by the vengeance of insulted time.
Weakness is cruel, violent and crass,
Yet cannot kill the thing on which it stares,
That feeble self for which alone it cares
Mirrored as in unshatterable glass.
It cannot run, it cannot even move,
Except toward death or madness, to escape.
It cannot be divorced from its own shape
By any skill, lacking that one of love.
But it can find a moment's bitter ease
In drawing truly what it hates and sees.

BABETTE DEUTSCH

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The Catholic Church in Politics

V: *The Church and Some Social Issues*

IN THE PREVIOUS ARTICLES we have discussed interference by the Catholic Church with freedom of speech, press, religious liberty and censorship. Catholic Action in the field of American education, involving the cornerstone of our form of government—the separation of State and Church—is perhaps the most subversive of all its dealings with democratic institutions. The Catholic philosophy of education is totally at variance with our traditional system. Catholic schools exist primarily for the purpose of teaching the religion of Christ, according to Father George Johnson, general secretary of the National Catholic Educational Association. Moreover, "teaching" in the Catholic sense of the word is different from the American meaning of the term. A subject is taught in the Catholic schoolroom, not as a matter of information, but as dogmatic ethics. Canon law commands that Catholic children shall be taught nothing contrary to the Roman Catholic faith.

But most important is Catholicism's outright denial of the inherent right of the State to teach. "The full and perfect mission to teach," says the present Pope, "does not belong to the State but to the [Catholic] Church, and the State may not prevent nor interfere with her in the exercise and fulfilment of that mission." This claim to the exclusive right to teach extends to non-Catholics as well as Catholics: ". . . embraces every nation without exception, and all men, whether within or without her membership, and there is no power on earth that may lawfully oppose her or stand in her way" (Encyclical "Divini Ilius Magistri").

In its efforts to press this claim the Catholic Church has denounced secular education through pulpit, press and its elaborate system of propaganda agencies. "The doctrine of the Church's supremacy in the field of education," declared Bishop Nussbaum of Michigan, ". . . must be preached in season and out of season, even though it invites persecution and arouses the ire of pseudo-scientists and pagan educators at what they consider a most arrogant claim." Boycott of the public schools and those open to non-Catholics is part of the Canon Law. However, in cases where Catholic schools are not available, parents may obtain permission of their bishop to send their children to the public schools, and hard times have forced large numbers of Catholic children to enter public educational institutions.

There are already 340 state-supported Catholic "merged" schools in the United States, conducted jointly by parochial and state authorities. The large majority of these "merged" schools are housed in buildings owned by the Church, either loaned or leased at a very low rental to school boards. Most are used for parochial purposes when the school is not in session. The school day begins with mass or recitation of Catholic prayers. Most of the teachers, 500 of the 632 employed, are garbed members of Catholic religious orders, whose salaries are paid out of public funds.

The campaign in this country for the support of Catholic schools by public funds is not new. It has been going on for nearly a century. For a long time it was quiescent. Lately it has become active again and, on the plea of emergency measures to meet the changed economic conditions, proposals for state aid have been introduced in many legislatures. Catholics complain that the depression has taken a heavy toll from their resources and that their schools are burdened with heavy debts; that they are obliged to contribute to the cost of secular education as well as their own, placing a burden of taxation upon Catholic parents which they cannot in conscience make use of. This, they charge, is a "limitation upon their religious freedom." They point to their 8,208 parochial schools, 1,306 high schools, 1,075 colleges, academies and seminaries, 326 orphanages with schools attached, and claim that they save the nation millions of dollars yearly in educating nearly 3,000,000 Catholic children. No mention is made, however, of the state aid they receive in the way of tax exemption on their vast properties. An exact figure for the entire country is impossible to obtain, for in many states priests are instructed not to release information as to the value of church property. Three billions would be a conservative estimate. In New York City, where the record of tax-exempt properties is published yearly, tax-exempt Catholic Church property is assessed at more than $200,000,000, representing 22 percent of the total. Catholic educational institutions alone account for nearly $108,000,000.

The Catholic hierarchy and laity are divided on the question of state aid. Some believe the school burden cannot be borne any longer. Others hold that state supervision and control is a worse evil. This rift was recently revealed at the New York State Constitutional Convention. Official Catholic support of a proposal that the state supply 50 percent of the maintenance costs of parochial schools, at the same time denying the state any authority over the schools or curricula, was withdrawn when it was sensed that prohibition of state supervision would not be attained. Great though the benefits of public moneys would be, the risk of allowing the state to regulate the conduct and teachings of Catholic schools could not be countenanced. Proposals were therefore substituted to extend to Catholic schools all "health and welfare" services and bus transportation.

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These amendments, adopted at the polls on November 8, as was pointed out before the election by leaders of Protestant denominations which also have church schools, open the way to a breakdown of the vital democratic principle of the separation of State and Church.

The determined opposition of Catholic authorities to our American public schools is unmistakably outlined in a recent pamphlet "May an American Oppose the Public School?" by the Jesuit Father Paul L. Blakely (America Press) with imprimatur of the late Cardinal Hayes and his board of censors:

> Our first duty to the public school is not to pay taxes for its maintenance. Justice cannot oblige the support of a system which we are forbidden in conscience to use, or a system which we conscientiously hold to be bad in principle and bad in its ultimate consequences. (p. 5.)
>
> The first duty of every Catholic father to the public school is to keep his children out of it. (p. 5.)
>
> But for the Catholic father who, without episcopal sanction, sends his child to the public school, when he could enter him at a Catholic institution, there is no excuse in heaven or on earth. He has begun the career of Herod; it will be no fault of his if he is not guilty of soul-murder. (p. 8.)

Secular educational authorities are alarmed at the inroads made by agents of the Catholic Church in the matter of federal legislation in this field. The whole future of public education in this country, they believe, will be entirely changed if proposals made in the report submitted by President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education are enacted. Catholic Action had a great deal to do with the Committee's proposal that certain services and financial aid which the federal government is to grant be made available to pupils in "non-public" schools. The chairman of the Committee has been quoted as stating that the members were not polled on this proposal, and that the recommendations were inserted in the report at the insistence of Father George Johnson, who threatened otherwise to file a minority report.

The discussion of this proposal at the convention of the American Association of School Administrators occasioned a bitter attack on these educators and on the chairman of the Association, Dr. George D. Strayer of Teachers' College, Columbia University. Columbia, the official organ of the Knights of Columbus, described the Association's debate as "the insolence of gentlemen who have attained extraordinary degrees of ignorance"; and characterized these educators as "educational racketeers," "professional highbinders who have muscled in on public education in the United States."

Catholic influence must be reckoned with in any proposals for federal legislation in the matter of education. Of the 435 members of the House of Representatives in the Seventy-fifth Congress, 100, or 23 percent, are Roman Catholics. Of the fifteen Democrats on the House Committee on Education, however, 60 percent are Roman Catholics—43 percent of the whole. Positions on this committee are appointive, and at the beginning of Congress in 1937, when the names of seventeen new Democratic members who had the endorsement of educational leaders were urged for this committee, only one of those so endorsed was appointed. Of the total of nine appointments made during the Congress, seven were Roman Catholics.

The Church and Communism

Only by a clear understanding of the Catholic Church's traditional opposition to democratic principles can its frenzied drive against communism be fully explained. All of the evils of the communist doctrines, Catholic authorities state, are the direct outgrowth and the logical conclusion of the Protestant Reformation. Out of the Reformation came the "liberalism" which first divorced religion from the state. "There would be today neither socialism nor communism," Pope Pius complains, "if the rulers of the nations had not scorned the teachings and maternal warnings of the Church. . . . If we would explain the blind acceptance of communism by so many thousands of workmen we must remember that the way had already been prepared for it by the religious and moral destitution in which wage-earners had been left by liberal economics. . . . It can surprise no one that the communistic fallacy should be spreading in a world already to a large extent de-Christianized" (Encyclical on Atheistic Communism).

For nearly a century, the Apostolic See has raised its voice against the "satanic scourge." In the United States Catholic Action has fought the Reds with intense zeal. Bishops and priests have faithfully transmitted the Vatican's warnings. The Catholic press has carried the message in a steady stream of vituperative articles and editorials. Catholic school children have been taught that "Communists are people with whom you should have no dealings, and to whose arguments and speeches you should never listen, and whose books and papers you should never read."

Most of the rhetoric used by the Catholic Church against communism is directed to its alleged anti-religious theories. Next, the Church complains that communism would abolish its age-old doctrine concerning the sacredness of property rights. Furthermore, the Catholic Church alleges that communism would destroy the Roman concept of the family, which provides the Church with one of its strongest holds upon its members. Catholicism is built around the family unit "fixed and determined by the Creator," and the Church regards its inviolability as fundamental to its existence.

The traditional Catholic concept of social justice is set forth in the two famous encyclicals on Labor, one by Pope Leo XIII ("Rerum Novarum") and the other by the present Pope ("Quadragesimo Anno"). Despite the many expressions of sympathy of both Popes for the deplorable social and economic conditions of the poor

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(who are advised "to be content with frugal living") great care is taken in these Encyclicals not to offend the privileged class. The inequalities and miseries which derive from our present economic system, we are told, "are the consequences of sin" and can never be banished.

There are many Catholics within the Church who sincerely wish to see a better social order and who deplore the methods the Church has adopted to combat communism. Many are outspoken in their criticism. They warn first of all against the ineffectiveness of the Church's drive, pointing to the increasing drift of many Catholics into radicalism. They see in the Protestant refusal to join in the crusade at the Pope's invitation distrust of the Church's motive and dislike of the Church's alliance with reactionary forces. This tie-up was frankly admitted by Bishop John F. Noll of Fort Wayne, Indiana, active in the anti-communist drive, who declared publicly that "now is the time for business and the Church to stick together in their common fight."

Until Father Coughlin appeared on the American scene no bishop or priest had attempted to apply the papal social and economic doctrines. He has done more to popularize the doctrines of Pope Leo and Pope Pius than has any other Catholic leader. Despite the fact that he has had to fight the American hierarchy (all four Cardinals opposed him openly), Coughlin's following among the laity is large, enthusiastic and loyal. Opinions differ as to his value to the Church in America, but no one would deny that no other American Catholic has had such great influence with his fellow Catholics. To many of them, he is the Pope's mouthpiece in America. Non-Catholic America looks upon Father Coughlin as a menace, and as a potential leader of the Fascist movement here. They breathed a sigh of relief when, because of too virulent attacks upon President Roosevelt in 1936, his wings were clipped by Rome. Since then he has come forward again and today he commands a vast radio audience every week. Mr. George Seldes recently pointed out Father Coughlin's anti-Semitism (The New Republic, November 2). The charge was amply verified on Sunday, November 20, when Father Coughlin broadcast an assortment of wild charges seeking to link "international Jewry" with the Russian revolution and repeating in general the sort of nonsense found in the forged "Protocols of Zion." He was blown out of the water by a series of denials from such disparate sources as the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, Trotsky, Kerensky and the United States Secret Service.

Catholic authorities have vied with other professional Red-hunters in pinning the Communist label on even the mildest liberals, if their views disagreed ever so slightly from those of the Church. They have even raised the Red cry against some people for taking the same stand, and endorsing the same causes, as certain outstanding Catholics have done without any complaint being offered.

Catholicism and Fascism

The progressive wing of the American Catholic laity is sensitive to the allegation that the Church has allied itself with fascism. Some of its apologists attempt to argue that Catholicism is forced to ally itself with Fascist dictators as a lesser evil than communism. But the intrinsically authoritarian character of Catholicism itself (especially in the United States), along with the frank pro-Fascist statements of many spokesmen for the hierarchy, greatly weaken their argument. The spread of fascism, culminating in its victorious "peace" of Munich, might well be said to have had its starting point at the Lateran Palace in 1929, when Pope Pius XI entered into his famous pact with Mussolini. Warnings of the far-reaching consequences to religion and democracy of that solemn tie-up between Catholicism and fascism at the time went unheeded by American Catholics.

Catholic leaders still deny that the alternative which faces us is democracy or fascism, and insist that the real danger is first communism and only secondarily fascism. Yet the fact is evident that the Catholic Church does not fight fascism along with communism. Archbishop John T. McNicholas of Cincinnati claims that the American public is being misled regarding fascism: "Italy, Portugal, Germany and nationalist Spain are classified alike as evil Fascist states. And a public that does not analyze statements or trace their source is told that fascism is the greatest evil facing America today."

Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany were defended by Judge Herbert A. O'Brien in his commencement address at the St. Brendan Diocesan High School, and tribute was paid to his "words of wisdom" by Bishop Thomas E. Molloy of Brooklyn: "Daily in our newspapers you can see stories against Catholic Italy—Italy where our holy Pope resides. And yet Mussolini saved Italy from going communistic along with Soviet Russia. And then we're constantly picking on Germany. What harm has she done us? I'll tell you the real reasons behind the constant criticism. It's to get a few radical votes for office seekers in New York."

The Fascist movement in Quebec, which is causing so much alarm to the English-speaking population, has the backing of the Catholic Church. Father Pierre Gravel, speaking to a large Nationalist meeting in Quebec, said: "I favor totalitarian states. Dictators have put an end to widespread abuses and political corruption, which are common in democratic countries." The Catholic Church was responsible for the passage of Quebec's anti-Communist "padlock" law and uses it to silence any criticism of Catholicism. Reverend C. E. Silcox, secretary of the Social Service Council of Canada, addressing the Canadian Institute of Economics and Politics, frankly expressed the fear, more or less concealed until now, that ultimately Roman Catholics in Quebec will refuse to permit any public criticism of the Church. "We have observed the way in which the law of blasphemy is

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quickly invoked to silence opposition in Quebec to the Roman Catholic Church, while the most damnable blasphemies on the Jewish faith are tolerated, and sometimes encouraged. . . . No matter how much we may despise communism, we consider the law infamous, un-British, rankly intolerant and destined to create the very thing it professes to crush."

The Pope and the Catholic hierarchy all over the world are united in support of Fascist General Franco, whose victory would mean the supremacy again of the Catholic Church in Spain. We have the word of Cardinal Goma y Thomas of the Spanish hierarchy that General Franco, a devout Catholic, would not go contrary to his Church. The Church in Spain has not only opposed outright the Popular Front government of 1936 but also from the beginning the Constitution of the Spanish Republic. The people of Spain have always been taught by their catechism that it is "mortal sin to vote liberal," that modern democracy along with communism, socialism and anarchism are to be condemned because "they are contrary to Catholic faith and justice and to all virtue and as such condemned by the Church."

We must remember that General Franco's rebellion against the Republican government of Spain was officially justified by the Catholic Church long before he started it in July, 1936. The Vatican excommunicated the framers of the Republican Constitution in 1931 because it contained provisions hurtful to Catholic claims. The same happened in Mexico, where the result has again been a long aftermath of blood and bitterness. Even in Catholic schools and colleges in the United States a large bloc of the nation's youth are taught by the catechism that the Pope, because of the supremacy of the Catholic Church over the civil state, has "the right to annul those laws or acts of government that would injure the salvation of souls. . . ."

If all else failed, Franco could have fully justified his rebellion by quoting Pope Leo XIII: ". . . if the laws of the State are manifestly at variance with the divine law, containing enactments hurtful to the [Catholic] Church . . . then truly, *to resist becomes a positive duty, to obey, a crime.*" LEO H. LEHMANN

In the final article of this series next week, the author will seek to explain why American Catholics have been so far unable to resist the hierarchy's reactionary policies, and to suggest how they could justifiably align themselves with advancing social trends. —THE EDITORS

Southerners Inspect the South

FOR THE FIRST TIME in the history of the South a large number of persons representing all classes and conditions of the population from all the thirteen Southern states has met and discussed frankly, openly, honestly and, I think, intelligently the more important problems that affect the lives of everyone in this region. Farm tenancy, civil rights, education, labor relations and unemployment, prison reform, housing, suffrage, race relations, women wage earners, freight-rate differentials, youth problems, health, child labor have been discussed not only by the professional and academic classes which usually consider these subjects, but by tenant farmers, day laborers, farm-union and labor-union organizers and Southern business men.

On Sunday, November 20, in Birmingham, Alabama, center of the South, of coal and iron, of Negro population, and scene of Bill Mitch's leadership in CIO unions, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare opened its four-day sessions with an attendance of some 1,200 delegates, men and women, white and Negro, from thirteen Southern states. The stimulus for the meeting was the National Emergency Council's Report to the President on the Economic Condition of the South. The meeting was arranged to discuss the subject matter of this report, to formulate plans for the correction of Southern deficiencies and to establish an organization which would continue work in the future.

Among the speakers at the general sessions were Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, Eleanor Roosevelt and Mr. Justice Black.

In his speech Sunday evening to an audience of about 3,000, President Graham pleaded for social justice for minority groups—Negroes as well as Jews and Catholics; and indicated his faith that the development of democracy will continue. He centered his speech on the need of federal aid for education in the South, basing his argument on the democratic principle of equality of opportunity, and the fact that the South has strained its taxing powers in order to pay for schools for its proportionately large crop of children.

Mrs. Roosevelt, Tuesday evening, to a crowd of 5,000, with an overflow of 2,000 or more, made another argument for education, approved federal aid for schools and spoke at length on the importance of fitting the educational process to the child's capacities. In the course of her speech Mrs. Roosevelt gave expression to a number of genuinely liberal sentiments, but later, in answering questions, on at least one occasion she slipped badly and missed an opportunity to help clarify a question that for generations has been the South's worst bugaboo, the one question on which reactionaries are centering their attack on the Conference. (Birmingham is all a-chatter over the Conference. It had not closed before a reactionary group had met, and follow-

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ing the model of Hitler's Nazis, held a meeting in which dissenters were not allowed to speak and were threatened with being thrown out. This group has requested the Dies Committee to investigate the Conference and the Committee has announced that it will do so. It was rumored in Birmingham that the Committee, somehow anticipating this request, had a representative there during the Conference.) But before going into this further, let me give the background.

At the first session on Sunday evening Negroes and whites sat here and there indiscriminately in the audience; and, so far as I could tell, no one seemed to be disturbed. The next morning the same thing occurred. No protest came from anyone attending the meetings, but about noon word came that the police department was excited, that there was a city ordinance requiring segregation—Negroes on one side and whites on the other, and that this rule would have to be followed in future sessions, otherwise the use of the Auditorium would be denied; or if the Auditorium was used and the audience persisted in mixing, the police would come, arrest members of the audience and charge them with breaking a city ordinance.

The management of the Auditorium was most courteous in transmitting this message, which was given to the general chairman, Mrs. Louise O. Charlton, myself and a number of others. Of course we were annoyed—we knew mixed meetings had been held in this very Auditorium and that other reasons were the occasion of this action. Someone wanted to make trouble, and that one, or more than one, had influence with the police. We decided, therefore, to segregate our audience, but somehow those who heard the warning either forgot it or did not consider themselves responsible. I became involved in something else and forgot, and when I returned to the Auditorium at about 2:30 P.M., the farm-tenancy panel was in session and Negroes and whites again were sitting here and there as previously. About 4:45 P. M. Mrs. Charlton called a number of us together and told us there were fifteen policemen in an office of the Auditorium and that they were threatening to make arrests if something was not done immediately. After discussion, Mrs. Charlton went to the microphone, announced the circumstances and requested the audience to observe the city ordinance.

Immediately protests began coming to Mrs. Charlton from Negroes and whites and two hours were spent considering possible courses of action. No other hall in town was large enough for the general sessions. In fact, none would have held the audience of 2,000 or more which came that night for the labor-relations panel; and at the same time other panels were using the available smaller meeting places. An effort was made to get a large church that was not being used, but we were not able to do so. There were only three remaining possibilities: cancel the sessions meeting in the Municipal Auditorium—which would have ended the Conference; meet and ignore the ordinance and possibly have the meeting broken up; or comply with the ordinance. This last course was decided upon, but only on the condition that a resolution be presented at the evening session, giving those present a chance to register their feelings.

At the evening session a resolution expressing disapproval of the ordinance was introduced. There was a motion to table, and it was seconded; but this was voted down. Then the resolution was voted on without discussion and passed. I doubt whether any person present failed to realize the seriousness of this issue—that this resolution would be seized upon to raise the old hue and cry, the old demand for "segregation." It was, therefore, of the greatest importance that someone who had the attention of a large audience explain the difference between a conference and a social gathering; that it be made clear there are many kinds and degrees of segregation, some good, some bad, some indifferent.

As I have indicated above, Mrs. Roosevelt had a perfect chance to clarify this question but failed to do so. After her speech, when she was answering questions from the audience, she was asked about segregation. She said this was a matter for Alabama. The obvious comment, of course, is that all of the questions being discussed by the Conference were equally for Alabama and no one else to answer. The use of this reasoning on all of the other subjects would lead to the conclusion that there was no point in having a Southern Conference.

But if Mrs. Roosevelt let the Conference down on this question, which was to become the point of attack for reactionary Southerners, she did not do so on many other questions of equal, if not greater, importance. In panels and other discussions, she argued effectively for federal anti-lynching legislation, for abolition of poll-tax requirements and other liberal measures.

After listening to Mr. Justice Black on the fourth and last night of the Conference, it is easy to understand why he is hated by reactionaries. The Justice quoted liberally from Jefferson, and in doing so gave a reasoned statement of his own faith in democracy, concluding that such free and open conferences as this one should promote the interest of the South and the welfare of the nation.

On the last day of the Conference a plan of organization was adopted providing for active work for legislation in all the Southern states, and, in general, for future meetings and continuance of the work of the Conference. Frank Graham was elected chairman, Louise Charlton, to whose efforts the success of the Conference was mainly due, honorary chairman, and H. C. Nixon, executive secretary. Mr. Nixon's job was to occupy his full time. His chief duty will be to see that the Conference amounts to more than meetings and talk, that the work of the Conference is so conducted throughout the year as to have a chance to get the action which is desired and which the South so sorely needs.

W. T. COUCH

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Shoot the Works

Bet Time Stories

I KNOW THE MAN who brought the bad news about Harry Hopkins to Arthur Krock. In fact, the gentleman who put the "Spend, and spend" line into currency is an old friend of mine. Unfortunately it is not within my right to betray his anonymity and so we will just call him Mac, since that is not his name. However, in the mood of twenty questions, I will reveal the fact that Mac is in the amusement business and highly successful too. This is somewhat strange, for though he has fathered comedies, he himself is not precisely a trigger man as far as a sense of humor is concerned.

I have come to believe that it may be possible that Mr. Hopkins said something not far removed from the quotation ascribed to him by Mr. Krock. But I also think that without the aid of tea leaves or a crystal ball I can reconstruct the incident even though I was not among the company at the Empire City Race Track when the horrid words were uttered.

Mac has lived all his life in or near the theatres of New York, and so he is a romantic and a gullible person. He can be taken in by his own melodramas and even fall for the tallest story of a press agent. In other words, he has all the naïveté of a Broadway wise guy.

This was drawn sharply to my attention some months ago and again the scene was a race track. My friend approached me just before the Brooklyn Handicap (I never forget a race) and said, "Heywood, I'm terribly worried about what's going to become of this country."

Being deep in calculations which I hoped would give me some excuse to bet $2 on a thirty-to-one shot, I tried to wave aside my worried friend. In order to justify my wager in any way, I would have to throw out the last eight races of the horse and go back to one at Laurel the year before. But that was run on a muddy track, the company was cheap and, after all, my steed did nothing more than "close a big gap to finish fourth." Mac was not to be ignored. "I've just heard a story from Washington on very good authority," he said, "and I would like you to tell me what you know about it."

"It seems," he continued, "that a committee of bankers had an appointment to see President Roosevelt. He greeted them pleasantly, but then, before they had time to say anything, he began to laugh—"

"You don't have to finish that one," I told him. "Sometimes it's a committee of bankers, or a committee of farmers or a committee of philatelists, and it goes on that the President continues to laugh unbrokenly for five or six minutes and the members of the committee look at each other in consternation and tiptoe out. Mac, that story has been denied dozens and dozens of times by every newspaperman in Washington. It's pure fabrication and I'm surprised at your falling for it."

My friend's mind was comforted on the matter of Mr. Roosevelt's laughter, but he found other things to worry about. Just before the Saratoga Gold Cup, he began to question me about the revolution.

"They tell me you're a Red, Heywood," he began. "I wouldn't have believed it, because you know I've always liked you. Of course, I know there's going to be a revolution some time or other. Things can't go on like this with the budget unbalanced and all this taxation. It's been pretty tough on me because I had two terrific smash hits last season. I couldn't help wishing that I'd had them a dozen years ago, before they stepped up the income tax. But, all kidding to the one side, I want to know how soon is this revolution coming. I've got hold of a sure-fire script and I don't want to go through all the agony of casting it and rehearsing it and then have a revolution come along even before the critics have a chance to rip the life out of it. When is it going to happen?"

This time I was much less tactful than usual. I brought my friend no comfort at all when I said, "Mac, at your age and after what you've told me about your blood pressure, I wouldn't worry about the revolution. Just this minute I can't give you the precise date, but I can practically make you a promise that by the time the revolution comes you'll be gone. In fact I wouldn't be surprised if it turns out that you've been dead five or six years before the government of the United States is overthrown by armed violence. So don't worry about it."

But, surprisingly enough, he did. I'm sorry to say that my memory is a little vague as to the next conversation we had on the Red revolution. I think it was just after the Ardsley for fillies which have not won more than one race since June 1. I was anxious to collect a bet and I gave Mac a short answer much in the terms of my first report: that the revolution probably would not occur in his time. But when he brought the same subject up only three days later, I decided to let him have it.

"Mac," I told him, "I've got some bad news for you. This time I'll be definite. I wouldn't put that show in rehearsal if I were you unless you're going to be satisfied with a short run. Just this morning we got word."

"From where?" he asked.

I put my finger to my lips and answered, "This is for your ears alone. It's a cablegram from Moscow. They think we haven't been active enough. The big boss has set a deadline. Don't tell anybody and don't mention my name, but the Communist revolution is going to break on January 5, 1939.

"At fifteen minutes after 10 A. M., Eastern Standard Time," I added to make it binding. He went away sorrowful.

I'm not certain, but I think I was the one who introduced Mac to Harry Hopkins. That was selfish, but it gave me more time to make my selections. Mr. Hopkins was more in the know than I could possibly pretend to be and so he bore the brunt of the questions. Mac said he liked Harry Hopkins. "Still, he's got queer ideas," he said. But the day came when the same question bobbed up once too often. According to my theory that was the point where the harassed Hopkins said, "We're going to spend and spend, etc."

Out of such trivial episodes come heavy editorials in The New York Herald Tribune. HEYWOOD BROUN

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Washington Notes

The 600 Days

EVER SINCE LAST MONTH'S ELECTION, the administration has been heavily absorbed in presidential politics. The genuinely liberal New Dealers—it is necessary to make this distinction among them—will not sleep nights until they feel they can nominate a co-believer at the 1940 Democratic national convention. The test is about nineteen months distant, or something less than six hundred days. The New Dealers think that this period will decide the country's direction for another generation.

Unhappily, they are faced with a maze of delicate, gossamer-like obstructions, which—as you will soon see—may not be rudely broken. It is not known whether Mr. Roosevelt would be willing to stand for a third time. If he would, most of the New Dealers would not only be content, but daffy from joy. But no one knows. And as long as Mr. Roosevelt's feelings are undisclosed, the New Dealers find it embarrassing to push the candidacy of another man.

Next to Mr. Roosevelt, the New Dealers think their best hope is Mr. Harry Hopkins. Perhaps unnecessarily, they have decided that he must be dissociated from relief to be acceptable to the rank-and-file voter. The report that he is to be made Secretary of Commerce seems to have sprung from its own logic. A Cabinet post had to be made for Harry; the Cabinet member that could be most easily dispensed with was Uncle Dan Roper; accordingly, let's heave out Uncle Dan and put Harry in his place. It now looks as if the plan might be carried out.

Mr. Roosevelt, it is understood, will not flatly ask Uncle Dan for his resignation. Consequently Uncle Dan is to be offered a place in the Distilled Spirits Institute in association with its new head, Professor Wesley Sturges. It is a lifetime job at a very handsome salary. To some of the New Dealers, however, the scheme has discordant overtones. It seems to put them in the position of admitting that the WPA is a serious political handicap. Nor do they like to think that Mr. Hopkins' first steps towards the presidency are to be made with the coöperation of the liquor industry.

Number-two candidate on the New Dealers' list is Solicitor General Jackson. His candidacy, however, conflicts with that of Mr. Hopkins in a silly, but quite tangible, fashion. By immemorial rule, a presidential candidate must be the favorite son of a specific state. Mr. Hopkins has spent most of his working life in New York, and was born and raised in Iowa. Mr. Jackson is an up-state New Yorker for generations back. The New Dealers can't have two New York candidates without seeming to fight among themselves. On the other hand, if Mr. Hopkins is presented to the country as an Iowa boy, his candidacy will collide with the sturdy presidential boom of Secretary Wallace. It would appear, indeed, that the Wallace partisans have anticipated that Mr. Hopkins might claim Iowa, and have taken measures to forestall him. Senator Herring is the nearest thing there is to an Iowa boss. His statement, a few days ago, strongly urging Mr. Wallace's nomination in 1940, is supposed to have been a warning to intruders.

If Mr. Jackson is to be made a presidential candidate, the process must clearly be begun by giving him the attorney-generalship, lately surrendered by Mr. Homer Cummings. Here, however, is encountered the somewhat embarrassing problem of Governor Murphy of Michigan. Not long ago a trial balloon was sent up in the shape of a report that Miss Perkins would resign, and that Mr. Murphy would join the Cabinet as Secretary of Labor. Miss Perkins' voluntary retirement, however, is extremely unlikely, and there is no equivalent of the Distilled Spirits Institute to offer her as bait. Hopeful plotters have mentioned the presidency of Mount Holyoke College, but it has just chosen a new president and shows no disposition to abandon him. Mr. Murphy has fought the good fight with valor, is extremely close to Mr. Roosevelt and is the New Deal's most distinguished lame duck. He is morally entitled to high office, and would make an admirable Attorney General. Most New Dealers would find a choice between Mr. Murphy and Mr. Jackson very difficult to make.

Mr. Wallace has never been so definitely within the White House circle as have Messrs. Hopkins and Jackson. Last spring, Mr. Hopkins joined with the White House intimates in the attempted purging of Senator Gillette. Despite frantic entreaties, Mr. Wallace imitated Ferdinand, sitting under his cork tree, smelling flowers and being very happy. The result was a complete, angry break between Mr. Wallace and the White House group. However, the President himself and Mr. Wallace remain on the most cordial terms, and, if the next nineteen months should happen to bring about a lift in farm prices, Mr. Wallace might conceivably become the strongest candidate that the New Dealers could offer. Thus, while Mr. Wallace is heartily disliked by many of the inside New Deal group, it is recognized that his candidacy must be painstakingly promoted.

Mr. Ickes' friends predict that he will refuse to run for mayor of Chicago. While his personal wishes deserve respect, most friends of the administration will hope that he makes the race. The curse of the New Deal and the Democratic Party has been corrupt and insatiable—rather than contented—big-city Democratic machines. Adepts of Chicago politics say that Mr. Ickes—as the man who brought the city its sanitary-district improvements, its circumferential-road system and, most recently, its longed-for subways—would have an excellent chance of victory. The Nash-Kelly machine has become greatly weakened. It possesses the favor of Colonel Bertie McCormick of The Chicago Tribune, which in itself is enough to turn Chicago voters against it. District Attorney Tom Courtney, Mr. Kelly's most formidable rival, is expected to have the support of Governor Horner's state machine. A similar falling-out among bosses permitted LaGuardia to win in New York.

The wages-and-hours administration, gravely understaffed, has been unable to make a detailed survey of the effects of the new law. Evidence reaching Washington, however, indicates that, far from reducing employment among the lowest-paid workers, it is substantially increasing such employment. At the time the wages-and-hours law went into effect, more reports of workers being discharged came from Texas than any other state. Within the last few days, the United States Employment Service at Fort Worth

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has reported a marked increase in queries from employers, most of whom ascribe their need for additional workers solely to the hours provisions of the law. According to Washington officials, the only case of possible hardship is Puerto Rico, and hearings on the operation of the law there are expected to commence shortly.

Washington T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Armament and the Borrowing Program

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES has been talking with a good deal of freedom to many persons who call on him about his armament plans, the dangers which menace the hemisphere and related subjects. Of course visitors to the President are not supposed to publish his statements. But neither will any reasonable man expect that they will fail to talk among their intimates of their presidential chats. And so what the President has been saying has become known. Some of the things he has been saying have frightened some of the visitors who heard them. Here is a sample. To one group he said: Armament is not only necessary but it will create widespread employment. *Look at Germany. There is not an idle man in Germany. They are at work in the armament industries.* I report this from the lips of responsible men who heard the President say it. If anything more disturbing than this has been reported in my many years of watching public affairs in Washington, I do not know what it could have been.

A group of economists from Harvard and Tufts (Messrs. Gilbert, Hildebrand, Stuart, Sweezy—Maxine and Paul—Tarshis and Wilson) have outlined in a small book an Economic Program for Democracy (Vanguard). With much of their program I find myself in accord. But on one point their plan will be certain to encounter vigorous opposition. They very justly face frankly a fact about the present economic system to which I called attention here last week, namely that private investment is drying up. They note this fact and set it down as an inevitable and continuing phenomenon of the system. They justly recognize that without investment the capitalist system cannot function. They therefore attempt to meet the grim necessity involved in these circumstances. And this they do by asserting that the government must step in as the investor. The government must invest, they insist, in housing, education, health activities, playgrounds, parks, soil conservation, etc. This, of course, leads to the question of where the money is to come from. Apparently following the logic of their own analysis of the capitalist mechanism, they insist that the funds must be obtained by government borrowing, continued indefinitely.

They then undertake to defend the soundness of continuing deficits. The government must borrow, which means the government must incur interest obligations. But this need not be a serious economic dislocation, since the government will borrow from the people. The government will collect taxes for the interest from the people, but as the interest is paid to the people who own the bonds, no actually important economic effect has been produced. The money is extracted from the people in the form of taxes; it is returned to them in the form of interest.

There is at least one flaw in this picture. The money is indeed extracted in the form of taxes from all the people. But it is certainly not returned to all the people in interest. Apparently this statement was based upon the assumption that all the obligations issued by the government for its depression borrowings are held by the savings banks, insurance companies and similar institutions and that these belong to all the people. Neither assumption is true.

It is probably true that very little of the paper issued by the government for its borrowings in the last six years is owned by savings banks and insurance companies. The great bulk of it is held by commercial banks. These banks (including the Federal Reserve Banks) in September held about $19,000,000,000 of United States government obligations. And the great bulk of these securities are the short-term issues put out by the government to finance its deficits. How much private individuals own it would be difficult to say. But no one will contend that the commercial banks are owned by the people or that the interest paid to them on their investments and loans belongs to anyone but the stockholders, who are an infinitesimal fraction of the people.

There has been a good deal of effort to argue away the economic effect of public debts by saying that only "orthodox economists" worry about debts. But this cannot be maintained. A government debt is a definite burden upon the economic life of the people, particularly when that debt is concentrated in the hands of a limited number of people. And there comes a time when the debt service becomes an intolerable burden. This is about the case in England now, where the minimum income-tax rate is 25 percent.

Furthermore, we cannot escape the fact that there will come a time when the debt will reach proportions where the credit of the government and its power to borrow are affected. How quickly this can develop we do not know. But we do know that in only twenty years England's small debt of a few billion dollars has swollen to more than thirty billions and that her power to borrow from her people is at an end. She can raise funds now in borrowing operations only by borrowing from banks.

Furthermore, the government borrowing must be bank rather than individual lending if the thesis of the seven economists is to hold. For what the capitalist system needs is not merely investment but investment at least in large part financed by bank loans which have the effect of creating new money. Loans from individuals do not produce the inflationary phenomenon that is necessary. The interest payments must in large part accrue to the benefit of bank stockholders rather than to the people as a whole.

What is more, government borrowing has one fatal defect that private investment does not have. The load of private debt can be held in check continuously by liquidation through failures. Indeed, in the past that is the way most private debt became extinct. But public debt—at least the debt of the federal government—can be liquidated only by payment or repudiation or inflation. Payment of the public debt would defeat the plan of the authors. Repudiation and inflation are violent and upsetting, pregnant with dangers of social disturbance.

JOHN T. FLYNN

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Rockets Old and New

Rocket to the Moon, by Clifford Odets. Belasco Theatre, November 24, 1938.
The Boys from Syracuse. Based on Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors. By George Abbott; music by Richard Rogers; lyrics by Lorenz Hart. Alvin Theatre, November 23, 1938.

THREE SEASONS AGO, I remember looking forward with real excitement to Mr. Odets' coming play. The promise of what we had already seen from him, most of all his "Waiting for Lefty," had raised great hopes in us.

The reception of "Paradise Lost" was but lukewarm, to say the least. On my own part, as I have realized more and more in afterthought, the trouble began with a certain confusion: long before the end of the first act, I was very much at sea. But evidently I found it difficult to say this at the time. There must have seemed something too personal about it for me to take up the point. At any rate I have often thought since that I made a mistake; for without that being said, almost any review must have been largely wasted. The trouble was that I never did know, even when the play had ended, just what sort of people, socially or culturally, so to speak, or however you want to put it, were intended. I could not tell what difference, if any, the dramatist meant us to see between the taxi driver who entered so volubly and the family living in the house, nor whether that drawing-room was supposed to be taken seriously, as decoration, or taken humorously as aspiring effort, somewhat over-inventive; or taken with a grain of sarcastic salt for certain dramatic implications expressed by it. All of which amounts to saying that I could not discover any scale within which to see the play in its divers aspects, and that a matter some would find more or less superficial had caused a confusion out of all proportion to the effort or devices necessary for the dramatist to clear it up. The main issue was not so much that things on the stage should be changed as that the dramatist should state his intentions.

If I seem now to stay unduly on this point it is partly for this present play, but partly also for the comment on a certain point in our modern dramatic technique: I mean the method—most elaborately and most divertingly, for readers at least, practised by Mr. Shaw—by which divers facts, details, qualifications and so on are left entirely outside the dialogue and are put into the stage directions. The danger here is that too much may be left to the devices of the actor or the perception of the audience. A certain amount of the older method by which these same details would be worked into the dialogue would often be more advisable.

To cut the discussion short, we may take three cases from "Rocket to the Moon": the dentist, Dr. Stark, Mr. Prince, his father-in-law, and the secretary, Cleo. Mr. Carnovsky's performance is finely graded, right in feeling, solidly designed and genuinely moving to watch; but the particular quality of emotion very often and the external movement are distinctly Jewish, which certainly is nothing against it. Whatever Miss Lynn's background may be, her approach to the secretary's role suggests the Irish theatre—nothing against that. Indeed the writing of this role constantly reminds us of certain figures from Irish drama of the Yeats school; and in the last act especially the secretary takes on a kind of eerie note, as if of a symbol or a dream, or of one of those maidens in the Irish plays—the friend of the spirits and the good people and going away with them when the time comes. This question, however—though the author could have anticipated it completely with a mere three or four words—need not matter so much were it not for Mr. Luther Adler, who brings on such an accent, manner, deliberation and series of postures that we cannot tell whether we are supposed to be seeing a German, a Jew, an Italian, or what. Certainly he is some foreigner, however convertible into an American exoticism. Regardless of the acting, a few words in Mr. Odets' dialogue would have saved us the poor economy of such confusion, and left whatever such problems there were to the actors and director.

The first act of "Rocket to the Moon" went remarkably well, the dialogue, with its Chekhovian combinations and hidden values, was excellent. Much of the rest of the play was good, and from good declined, more and more as the dénouement approached, to a general looseness, a muffed universalism, and a resolution in symbolic banalities.

Mr. Gorelik's setting was dramatic to the play's requirements. Mr. Clurman's directing bound the whole closely together, in a manner profoundly varied and admirable.

Mr. Abbott's evening of "The Boys from Syracuse" no doubt drags a little with, for example, the spun-out song about falling in love, with odd moments in the crowd action and with the lack, I imagine, of a more genuine sense of suspense. By this last I mean that the play would have been sustained and speeded up if we had had more of a feeling that the brother from Syracuse was really seeking his lost brother, seeking long and passionately, and that the lovers in the story had something desperately at stake. In general, however, the whole production seemed to me to have gusto and a certain freshness along the ancient classic line. The bawdry of it seemed at the performance I saw to breeze the songs and situations along, and to be closer to the old sources than Shakespeare is, with that romantic veil—drawn from the "Apollonius of Tyre"—that he throws over the beginning and the end of his play. This very hardness of the antique classical treatment of love may, or may not, limit the new version's appeal.

Shakespeare, as is well known of course, drew not only on Plautus' "Menaechmi" for "The Comedy of Errors," but also on the "Amphitruo," which is a piece far less farcical than the other, and at times close to the tragic. The influence of the second play affecting Shakespeare is credited by scholars with giving more dignity and elevation of interest to his work, less of rough Plautine Roman farce. This is a question of taste; the acting tradition and vitality behind the particular performance will have much to do with the question. It is interesting to note that Mr. Abbott's production is closer to the classic than the Elizabethan tradition could have been, for the simple reason that, partly through Mr. George Balanchine's choreography, and partly through elements of the *commedia dell' arte* surviving in our ballet forms, the line of connection with the antique theatre is more direct.

Mr. Mielziner's settings were highly successful, especially the house rolled on to the scene, which was as right and as charming as those in the Boscoreale frescoed room to be seen at the Metropolitan. Miss Sharaff's costumes ran many gamuts to and from the antique, I thought delightfully.

STARK YOUNG

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Whether to Laugh or Cry

I SUPPOSE Walt Disney's "Ferdinand the Bull" should lead off for this pre-Christmas season, though the cartoon is very short and made for kiddies. The fabulous success of the Leaf-Lawson book is impossible to explain unless we grant such a slight thing the rare quality of being a new fairy tale, something in which the idea is different yet so simple that you can put it in a sentence, as: once there was a bull who wouldn't fight but liked to smell the pretty flowers; and remember it by its main characteristic, as: Jack and the Beanstalk, Beauty and the Beast, or Minnie the Moocher (if it's of any interest I'll still take Minnie and the King of Sweden, he gave her some things that she was needen). This general popularity in any event made the Disney men keep pretty close to the original. A commentator tells the story in the right fairy-tale way, in a voice you might call deliberately wide-eyed; and the rest is Disney sound-effect and detail—though there is not so much scope for these as in the best ones. I remember the little bulls butting each other automatically, the Spanish cow with her bell in tango time, the arrival of the men in funny hats; and in general the effect is charming, good fun and of course clean (there was definitely no feeding time for the little bulls and I couldn't see whether, in deference to Decency Legions, the boys had taken a hint from the apocryphal but best of Ferdinand stories, the one about his carrying a glove across the pasture to a group of cows to see, as he confessed when questioned, if any of those ladies over there had lost her brassière).

"The Cowboy and the Lady" is also clean fun and simple enough to be put in a sentence: the cowboy didn't want a lady who was rich like this one and so after an hour and a half of misunderstandings they lived happily forever and ever until Sam Goldwyn can team them up for another picture. Some of the writing is bright and there is romance, and what with Merle Oberon, Gary Cooper, Patsy Kelly, Walter Brennan, Mabel Todd and Fuzzy Knight in and out of the doings, you couldn't help having some good laughs. But the laughter dies in your throat soon enough, for the story is just a lot of chestnuts pulled out of other people's dead fires and the director is no aid to its embarrassment, for his idea of light treatment seems to be that of lifting heavy weights clear from the ground. Not even Gary Cooper has enough human appeal to hold this together, so in general the big money is wasted and love is lost.

Just for contrast, consider "Spring Madness," a silly but gay little piece, much helped by its unpretentiousness and sensible comedy writing. (Much helped also by the fact that when you throw a line to subordinate players like Sterling Holloway and Frank Albertson, you will not throw a line away.) Briefly, Lew Ayres is in love and poor, but serious about going to Russia for a couple of years to study the natives; and Maureen O'Sullivan no like. For the purposes of the story everybody is in college, and while campus complications pile up more than would be seemly even in Princeton, there is more naturalness to the film's absurdities than I've seen before. (College to Hollywood is usually some sort of mysterious Gothic elaboration produced by Billy Rose but opening out of town—who the hell ever *caught* the show, tell me?) And I do believe the young-and-worried-love scene in the gymnasium is straight and fresh. And though I usually like to keep Burgess Meredith at arm's length, his part and he in it have just the right goofy charm and spontaneity to quicken everything round about—a man with practically no Tor at all. It is sometimes too broad and sometimes too shallow, but it's another good score for the decent small-budget type of picture.

"Professor Mamlock" came right off the top of the news (it is closer to events than the latest March of Time, which goes into the training of diplomatic career men if not into what just now they are doing with it). It is a pity that its statement of the Nazi uprising in Germany will play only to the few thousands of the foreign-theatre audience who know the statement by heart, because while even general movie audiences today join in the sport of Hitler-hissing, they could stand a lot more education than they'll ever get about what they are hating and why. Mamlock, the head of a clinic, wished only to serve humanity, believed the papers, and eventually forbade his son to continue Communist activities. Already he was treating "industrial wounds" and he didn't like it. His son kept on, meetings, leaflets, addresses to the workmen. The shirts came in and the little band had to go underground, while Mamlock was hounded out of his clinic, and like more and more of the complacent learned what had been happening when it was all over.

The changing relations in the hospital staff, the Party activity, the growing hardship of the poor and the precision of the Nazi machine are well handled. It is true that the main figure has none of the marvelous humanity of the scientist in "Baltic Deputy," that character drawing is hasty and that there is little dramatic pull to get an audience behind it. But the main weakness is in the patient didacticism with which they approached the subject, as people who will say, this happened and you should know it, and now since you know it you must feel it. Whereas the whole principle of organizing material into a form of art is to make an audience feel it so that they may know it.

"Mamlock" will not play to the millions who need it because it doesn't go after them in the first place. Of course the wheeze about the best mousetrap and the automatic path to your door won't work in a society under pressure, because suppose the Hays office won't O. K. your mousetrap and Martin Q. Pigglywiggly and other odd bits of cheese begin to send up a smell and picket such a trap as being beneath a good Catholic, as sacrilegious, demoralizing and a plain violation of the American constipation? But there is still the possibility of making just a clever trap that will still get by. Soviet pictures telling their own audience how happy it is usually prove too slow and heavy and foreign for our different tastes. There is left a chance for a picture from outside the Hollywood distribution channels that is supremely good, or for a regular entertainment picture just good enough in itself to carry a little social wallop. This time of all times seems to indicate a wide audience in this country for a thoroughly dramatic job about these thick sluggers and blood-bathers and envious sneaks, about how innocent slogans and fat promises could be made to serve their wide and crafty plan, until decent people found themselves overrun, and their part of the world with them, by a minority group of riffraff suddenly elevated to uniforms and motorcycles and guns, a whole trampling army of blond zombies.

OTIS FERGUSON

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The Bandwagon

Notice outside a London cinema: Now Showing. Mr. Chamberlain, Saver of the Peace. (For one week only.) – *From The Manchester Guardian.*

I pledge the use of common sense and common honesty in the application of the law to the solving of human problems, so long as such application can be made within the bounds of good judgment and judicial propriety. – *R. M. Winegardner, lately a candidate for justice of the Ohio Supreme Court, quoted in The New York World-Telegram.*

Hochi said it would be officially announced that the council was designed to represent the people's will but the people will have no voice in its selection or control of its action. – *Tokyo dispatch to The New York Times, quoting the Japanese newspaper, Hochi.*

Warner's "Devil's Island" has been called back from New York and several scenes will be reshot. The picture was made under the assumption that the penal colony was to be abolished. The new government [of France] having decided to continue Devil's Island, asked that the picture treat the subject "with understanding." – *From a news item in The New York Times.*

Kiss the Folks Goodbye

She always had an idea that the American Peepul meant the kind of leather-faced farmers who gather at Kansas county fairs . . . "until I went to an American Labor Party rally with Morrie Ernst. . . . I looked into their faces, and I was frightened. I was somehow glad that I was a Republican. . . ." – *From an interview with Clare Boothe (Mrs. Henry Luce) in The New York Mirror.*

Snake Oil

Outright slander born of malice; brutally fantastic lies—these were employed by pot-house politicians seething in the milk of their own bitterness and burning with the fevered fear of impending disaster. It was when the Democratic buccaneers, hog-fat with special privilege and drunk with power after four years of ruthless dominion over Pennsylvania, saw a tidal wave of opposition rising to engulf them that they feared to depend solely upon their customary technique of assailing their enemies with the jawbone of an ass and adopted in addition the repulsive weapon of the snake. – *From an editorial in The Philadelphia Enquirer.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The CIO and the ILGWU

SIR: It seems to me that Bruce Bliven Jr.'s enthusiasm about the Pittsburgh conference ("The CIO Comes of Age," November 30) led him to make one wrong inference in his reference to Dubinsky and the ILGWU.

I do not know what basis he has for referring to Dubinsky's "attempt to show the CIO as a crumbling, disorganized body" [by the ILGWU's withdrawal the week before the Pittsburgh convention met]. . . . The General Executive Board postponed its decision as long as it could, hoping, as many people hoped, that some definite compromise could be accepted and the A. F. of L. and the CIO be brought together again. . . .

MARK STARR
Long Island City, N. Y. Publicity Director, the ILGWU

[We have received another letter on this same point from John S. Martin, Southeastern Regional Director of the ILGWU, in which he calls the reference to his organization "a deliberate lie . . . an opinion by remote control . . . through the medium of some Union Square liberal . . . shuttling his opinion in an attempt to keep on the line." Mr. Martin doubts that any responsible person would say that Mr. Dubinsky has either done or said anything that would give the impression that the CIO is either crumbling or disorganized. – THE EDITORS]

SIR: Whatever Mr. Dubinsky's motives may have been for withdrawing his union from the CIO just before the Pittsburgh convention, his act was seized upon by the anti-CIO press as evidence of CIO disintegration. The Pittsburgh Press, The Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, The New York Herald Tribune and The Chicago Tribune, among many others, so interpreted the withdrawal. I do not believe that Mr. Dubinsky and the Executive Board of the ILGWU, at the time they made their announcement, were unaware of the manner in which the nation's press would treat it.

New York City BRUCE BLIVEN JR.

The Catholic Church in Politics

SIR: As a practising Catholic I must confess my disappointment that our Catholic press did not print all the facts on the Church . . . but the American Catholic Church can hardly be considered a long-term ally of fascism when we take into account the fact that the vast majority of her twenty-one million members are workers. . . .

New York City LEO X. O'BRIEN

SIR: . . . For the past few weeks you have engaged in an insidious campaign to arouse religious antagonism through direct and indirect attacks upon Catholics and the Roman Catholic Church. . . . You protest against propaganda and yet you continue to disseminate the greatest twentieth-century hoax—that communism and democracy are synonymous. . . .

WALTER L. WILLIGAN
Brooklyn, N. Y. National Catholic Alumni Federation

SIR: Your series . . . promises to be one of the most significant and useful things you have done in a long time. Protestants with progressive leanings have been increasingly bothered by this problem but have thus far shrunk back from saying or doing anything forthright about it for fear of giving aid and comfort

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to another surge of Ku Klux Klanism. That you are sensitive to the danger is shown in your editorial accompanying the first article. Despite the peril, however, I agree with you that the problem must be plainly pointed out, the issue brought into the open. . . .

HUGH S. TIGNER

Minister, The First Universalist Church of Canton, N. Y.
Canton, N. Y.

SIR: Protest will probably follow the publication of your stuff on Catholic activities. . . . Of course, you will find it difficult to convince the average Catholic that you are not anti-Catholic. If I were to suggest a similar series of articles on Jewry and a free press, would you be fair enough to admit that I might be moved by motives nobler than anti-Semitism? . . .
Brooklyn, N. Y. MARTIN CHRISTIANSEN

SIR: I consider your sheet, The New Republic, the most un-American paper published except The Daily Worker. . . .
Jacksonville, Fla. R. M. SCANDRETT

Save New College!

SIR: If Teachers' College, Columbia University, carries out its plans to close New College, its progressive teacher-training school, it will be action in sharp contrast to the forward-looking trend now apparent among American educators.

Last week, a detailed report of a study conducted by Luther Gulick, proposing drastic changes in the New York State public-school system, was submitted to the Board of Regents. The report emphasized that up to now little provision has been made in the present curricula of New York State to help youth meet the problems of modern economic life.

Six years ago New College was established for that very purpose. It aims to equip young men and women to teach realistically and progressively by molding its curriculum around the problems of modern social and economic life. This week the effect of its realistic program was clearly shown in the student-faculty's united stand against the decision handed down by Dean William F. Russell of Teachers' College to close New College.

The arbitrary decision, made without consultation of New College students, faculty or director, the Dean's Advisory Committee or the New College Advisory Committee, is a blow to democracy in education. The closing of such an institution for the relatively small sum of $35,000 is a serious mistake. The dean's estimates for this year ($25,800) were challenged by us in so far as they did not consider all sources of income accruing to New College. Our budget committee's estimate was $3,800—one-tenth of one percent of the Teachers' College budget of more than $3,800,000.

The fight to save New College is not the fight of the students and faculty alone. It is the fight of all people interested in realistic education. It is the fight of all people who line up with democracy against reaction. We ask that letters be sent to Dean Russell protesting the arbitrary closing of our school. We should be grateful if copies were sent to us.

WILLIAM BECKER

Chairman, Student-Faculty Body of New College
New York City

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Margaret T. Morewood of La Cañada, California, writes, as a great many other correspondents have done this week, about the plight of the Jewish victims of Nazism. She believes that Germany should be forced to pay at least part of the expense of settling them in other parts of the world. . . . Dr. C. Denton Johnson of Columbus, Georgia, takes violent issue with our editorial, "Let the Jews Come In!" (November 23). He calls The New Republic "rabid," "inconsistent" and "disregardful," because we "fail to take into account" the numbers of unemployed Americans with whom the Jewish refugees would compete. Dr. Johnson apparently does not understand the primary economic fact about the proposed immigration: that the refugees would bring both productive power and consuming capacity in about equal measure. . . . Jay Lovestone of the Independent Labor League of America, New York City, writes that the Jewish persecutions were planned by Germany to "sharpen the edge of the Fascist terror, an edge somewhat blunted during the Munich days . . . the element of fear which helps the government maintain itself in power over the masses." . . . E. Lipke of Detroit, Michigan, thinks that Palestine combined with Transjordania is the proper place of refuge for the Jews.

F. A. Sieverman Jr. of Canaan, Connecticut, thinks John T. Flynn's criticism of President Roosevelt is a valuable compensating factor to the enthusiasm of many liberals, but he hopes that Mr. Flynn's doubts will stay within reasonable bounds. . . . Leslie C. Davis of Portland, Oregon, writes, "Mr. Flynn is a very competent writer on finance. In that field I think he is unsurpassed. However, when he wanders off into the fields of statesmanship he is just an ordinary layman." . . . James Lustig of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, Brooklyn, New York, brings our editorial (November 9) about the Decca Record strike up to date with the information that a highly satisfactory agreement between the company and the union was signed on November 21.

Lucille Bunzl, 60 Wall Street, New York City, announces a dinner in honor of G. A. Borgese, author of "Goliath: The March of Fascism," under the chairmanship of Professor Gaetano Salvemini, with Felix Frankfurter presiding, at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, December 27, at 7 o'clock.

Announcement is made of the Public Service Fellowship for 1939-40 which should be of interest to all recent women graduates of colleges. It offers the sum of $1,400 for a year of graduate study in one or more of the related fields of economics, government, history and sociology. The award is made annually by the faculty of Barnard College to a woman, a college graduate of the first five years, who shows promise of usefulness in public service. Requests for further information and for application blanks should be addressed to Professor Jane Perry Clark, chairman of the Faculty Committee, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York City.

What's on the Air?

Reports from the Lima Conference of American States, Sunday, December 11, 5:45 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; Monday, December 12, 11:05 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; Tuesday, December 13, 6:45 P.M., CBS and 11:05 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; Wednesday, December 14, 2:30 P.M., CBS; Thursday, December 15, 6:30 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; and Friday, December 16, 11:45 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

Prime Minister Chamberlain speaks before the Foreign Press Association dinner in London, Tuesday, December 13, 4:40 P.M., CBS.

Musical and dramatic programs of the week include the Metropolitan Opera Company's "Siegfried," Saturday, December 10, 1:55 P.M., NBC-Red Network; "The Dark Voice" by Elizabeth Carver, Saturday, December 10, 8:30 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; the New York Philharmonic, Sunday, December 11, 3 P.M., CBS; Bette Davis in "The Silver Theatre," Sunday, December 11, 6 P.M., CBS; "Iolanthe," Tuesday, December 13, 8 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; and "Crosstown New York," by Travis Ingham, Thursday, December 15, 10 P.M., CBS.

All times given are Eastern Standard Time.

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Books in Review

A Yankee in Never-Never Land

MR. WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE has written in the form of a biography of Coolidge what is probably the richest and most engrossing study[1] we have had yet of the prosperous, gilded and "Babylonian" years which made up the decade of the 1920's. The very same wit and keenness of political comment which were to be enjoyed in his earlier "Masks in a Pageant" are brought well into play in "A Puritan in Babylon." Much first-hand knowledge, some unpublished papers (the Taft), painstaking inquiries among witnesses, bystanders and chief actors, a modicum of unwritten history—all this has been brought together to make up a truthful picture of the time and its men. Moreover, Mr. White has a gentle heart and, though ever seeking to be truthful, speaks with a certain sweetness of compassion of the high blunderers and victims of the Babylonian Decade. This spirit of understanding lends finish to the picture.

Coolidge himself, successful politician that he was, became, historically speaking, one of the chief victims of his time. When we think of the "Coolidge days" we recall that Coolidge himself was not typical of them, as were, let us say, Charles Mitchell, Samuel Insull, Al Capone, Richard Whitney or Harry Daugherty. Calvin Coolidge, the Vermont boy, son of a storekeeper at a country crossroad, was an original. (Indeed, some of the big Republican wire-pullers thought he was a lucky number.) He was shrewd, hard-headed, parsimonious, timid, silent, regular as the sun, and well meaning at bottom. By heredity and by training the man who presided over the "Coolidge boom" was disposed to put money in the savings bank and shun speculation. For the details of his singular personality and the steps in his slow methodical rise up the ladder of Massachusetts professional politics, I send you gladly to Mr. White's admirable character portrait. The upshot is that Calvin Coolidge was colorful precisely because he seemed so bleak; because of his very want of the conventional politician's color; and because he wore the old-fashioned virtues so deliberately. He was silent, and men thought he was strong. Mr. White concludes that underneath his mask he must have been always a little puzzled and frightened by everything. Once White asked President Coolidge if he might peek under the mask to see the man inside. "Maybe there isn't any; I don't know," was the reply.

Nevertheless this Sphinx-without-a-secret became Governor of Massachusetts, by grace of boss Murray Crane; and when his hand was forced, in the Boston police strike of 1919, attained national fame as a stern defender of order—through no fault of his own. In 1920 reaction was in the saddle, the gods of the Republican convention wanted no more heroes like Roosevelt or Wilson, but rather somebody like Harding or Coolidge—"a blank piece of paper"—and succeeded in putting both on the ticket. When death removed the wretched Harding early, the little Vermont Yankee stepped cautiously into the White House.

Some Republican legislation, especially a new tariff bill, had been passed at the start of Harding's term. After 1923, virtually no legislation was desired. Within the Chinese walls of our tariff system, very little policy-making was needed. What there was of it involved pure laissez-faire for industrial monopolies, holding companies, banking mergers, stock-market pools, the open shop, and California and Florida real-estate developments. Meanwhile, as if that were not enough, Secretary Mellon steadily lowered taxation upon high incomes; and a Treasury-Federal Reserve policy of low interest rates was conducive to both private enterprise and speculation.

Thus the United States was the last "paradise of capitalism" during the 1920's. The country boomed. It was wonderful. It was magical. Soon the name of Coolidge (who did nothing) became inevitably and reverently associated with the greatest orgy of wealth-begetting ever known. State Street and Wall Street loved him; and grieved that he did not "choose to run" in 1928. Men in Wall Street still speak of him with nostalgia. A man who knew when to do nothing! And yet there was a certain political competence in the man which, by comparison, a Harding or a Hoover clearly lacked. In his quiet hands the gears of the party marchinery did not clash. The patronage squabbles were hushed, the petty crooks driven off. Applauded in every counting-house, Calvin Coolidge came to accept credit for the years of prosperity as his own portion, and that of the "party of talent and wealth."

There were danger signals. The farmers were discontented with their share of prosperity. Legislation was prepared for them and passed; but Coolidge—it was his firmest action—vetoed the McNary-Haugen bill. Agricultural economy remained out of joint.

William Allen White has gathered some interesting data also on the behind-scenes conferences in 1928, between American financiers and government officials, and representatives of the great central banks of Europe, such as Montagu Norman and Hjalmar Schacht. Financial strains already felt abroad gave warning of possible difficulties ahead. At this point a decision might have been taken, turning toward firmer money rates to check the great credit inflation of Wall Street. Such a course might well have mitigated many of the rigors of the great depression which was foreshadowed. But Mr. Coolidge actually understood nothing of finance. The mountains of money awed him. Mr. Mellon decided such matters—and in his own Midas-like greed may have played no small part in the fateful decision, once more, *to do nothing*. From both these statesmen came further soothing utterances upon the already extravagant stock-market boom. Mr. Coolidge may have been a Puritan; but no President, Puritan or Pagan, ever spoke so emphatically and so publicly in favor of eight billion dollars in brokers' loans.

[1] A Puritan in Babylon: The Story of Calvin Coolidge, by William Allen White. New York: The Macmillan Company. 480 pages. $3.50.

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All of the intimate glimpses here show us little men, devoid of leadership as they were devoid of knowledge, placed at the levers of the billion-horse-power society, understanding as little what made it run and prosper as what made it fail to work. Mr. Coolidge, heaped with honors, gave way to Mr. Hoover. But in his retirement, the days of the locust came and saddened his years. For the great depression threw a strange illumination over the follies of his own regime, which, in betrayal of his own innate Puritan faith, he had so often looked upon and called good.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON

A Lesson for Democracy

The School for Dictators, by Ignazio Silone. Translated by Gwenda David and Eric Mosbacher. New York: Harper and Brothers. 338 pages. $2.50.

DIALOGUE, the mixed literary growth that makes the fruit of imagination seedless while filling the dry rind of philosophy with poetic juice, has always appealed to thinkers unwilling to dismiss more graceful Muses as well as to creative writers tempted by the superior majesty of pure speculation. Plato made of it the most glorious of compromises, and a number of successors competed, more or less felicitously, with his achievement. The latest newcomer in the field is Ignazio Silone, author of a dialogue on his exclusive topic, fascism. The stage is Switzerland, or more precisely Zürich. Two of the characters are Americans: Mr. W., the self-appointed candidate to dictatorship in the United States, and Professor Pickup, his secret adviser. They are touring Europe, meeting leaders or sub-leaders, perusing books and clipping periodicals in order to learn what fascism really is and how this amazing product might be imported from its native continent to the Western Hemisphere; but their progress has been questionable indeed until they chance on Thomas the Cynic, a transparent pseudonym of the Italian exiled writer who reports the dispute in fifteen conversations.

He obviously is Thomas because he wants to touch the truth with his own hand, and a cynic because no truth frightens him. For Professor Pickup, all bent on finding theoretical and ethical foundations for an American fascism, he does not care, and he rather prefers the single-tracked, uneloquent, uncultivated, unshakably unintelligent purpose of Mr. W. Knowing everything—or almost everything—about fascism, Thomas the Cynic lavishes his unpalatable science on the visitor, whose reactions sound concisely responsive. Since the first and final truth is summarized in the familiar quotation from Chancellor Oxenstiern stating "how little wisdom rules the world," Mr. W., who has no wisdom at all, has many chances to be the dictator of America. "Supposing I caused 'Communists' to rifle the tomb of the Unknown Soldier?" he asks after three-hundred-odd pages of lecturing by Thomas the Cynic, thus giving evidence of a considerable advancement under the Italian's guidance. "And supposing I reserved for myself the honor of finding the remains in a cave in the Alleghenies? Or what if I arranged a 'Communist' outrage against the Statue of Liberty, at the entrance to New York Harbor, which, between ourselves, has always got on my nerves?" The close of the dialogue, when Mr. W., a sobered Quixote, and Professor Pickup, his ideological Sancho, are sailing back home, strikes a hopeful note. After all fascism may still dawn on this benighted country.

Readers of Silone may miss the caricatural impact of "Fontamara" and the rich narrative flux of "Bread and Wine." They also may feel at times that a name, be it Pickup or Thomas, inserted between two speeches, establishes a demarcation between paragraphs rather than characters, as if the author, forgetful for a while of his fictional device, fell back to the level continuity of a political treatise. Yet artistic quality emerges finally in the dull, bovine pragmatism of the future dictator as well as in the undernourished philosophical anxiety of Professor Pickup, the inventor of "Neo-Sociology"; and Thomas himself, for all his self-indulgent loquaciousness, gives more than mere glimpses of Silone's sound mind and honest heart, and of his well known approach to a pathos steeled in sarcasm. What he knows about the origins of fascism and Nazism is plentiful although incomplete; what he thinks about their meaning is correct although necessarily not always new; and the book on the whole provides substantial reading.

Its main flaw, since no book of this kind could be flawlessly satisfactory, is in the slow, labyrinthine motion of the argument—whence the reader's impression that no climax is reached, no positive conclusion is offered. This perplexity is a consequence of Silone's speculation still being caught in the contradiction of Machiavellianism. Like nearly all Italians and most political thinkers today in the world at large, Silone cannot part with the beloved and much admired Machiavelli, also in his pages gleefully exalted as the real explorer of human behavior and discoverer of a permanent political science. If that is true, if the social world of man is and must be such as Machiavelli described it—a struggle for power in which sheer violence and cunning must be the victors, and rightly so—then no indictment of fascism and Nazism makes sense, and Mr. W. becomes perfectly serious.

Perhaps a Machiavelli redivivus might feel sad about Mussolini's, perhaps temporary, decline and mumble the celebrated terzina of Dante on Cimabue's primacy in the art of painting, obscured by the rising star of Giotto, in the timely variant suggested by a friend of this reviewer:

> Once thought Benito in dictatorship
> To be supreme; now holds Adolf the sway;
> So that the former's fame has weaker lip.

Machiavelli's sadness, however, would be of a patriotic and emotional nature, while theoretically and practically he would not have anything to object to in Hitler, whose performance so far is unquestionably masterly, the most triumphant demonstration of Machiavelli's truth which history so far records. Among the best reading in the "School for Dictators" is a concise syllabus of the Nazi theory of propaganda in Nazi words, sedulously collected from first sources. It is a splendid piece of work, which would cause the heart of Machiavelli to brim over with enthusiasm and gratitude. The Florentine secretary wrote the handbook of "The Prince"; the exile in Zürich might have written the textbook of "The Dictator," dispensing with all irony and bitterness.

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Instead, he loathes, as he always did, fascism and Nazism. Neither does he, a hater of all tyrannies, however disguised, care for the two other religions sharing our world: Russian communism, which he damns as a perversion of socialism, and Roman Catholicism—among the oppressed in Germany, but among the oppressors in Italy, in Spain and wherever else it is allowed to oppress—which he regards as totalitarianism too. What is then the religion of Silone? What is the theoretical and practical inference from the science of Thomas the Cynic? Any reader is anxious to know how we can evade the law of a Machiavellian world in which Mussolini and Hitler are right; what we must think and do if we want to prevent Mr. W.'s march on Washington.

Looking for answers to such disturbing questions, we may be satisfied that Silone unchangeably clings to his beautiful faith in Liberal Socialism. These two joint words elicit a highly inviting sound; yet, no proper definition has been tried so far of this desirable being with a name and a surname but no present substance. Moreover, Silone himself puts at the head of the causes that led to fascism and Nazism the defeat of socialism before and after the World War. It was, on the whole, a Liberal Socialism. It was defeated, Silone admits, because it had prepared the masses for life in progress, not for death in battle. We may translate with other words, saying that socialism was defeated because it did not provide the individual and the masses with a belief transcending time and linking the present with the future generations. Whether or not such a belief is a constituent part of Silone's Liberal Socialism, "The School for Dictators" does not disclose. It seems, however, safe to assume that no anti-fascist or anti-Machiavellian feeling can become socially effective without a new theology; or, if the word is unwelcome, without a unitary, and therefore religious, conception of the world and man.

Apart from a sketchy return to a pre-Leninist Marxism, the book is positive in Silone's touching loyalty to Switzerland, his refuge and—as he seems to feel—an Ararat of democracy overtowering, high and dry, the deluge. We hope we are not deluded by a different personal loyalty if we rely more firmly on the United States, in spite of Mr. W.'s and such others' machinations. It is not about the smallness and isolation of Switzerland that we feel concerned, but about the exceedingly shrewd technique with which a conservative or reactionary oligarchy manages, in domestic as well as in foreign policy, the Swiss democracy. Silone extols, among other tokens of perfect democracy in Switzerland, the indifference of the average citizen, who may even be unable to say who is the president of the Confederation this year. In fact, the civic simplicity and the retiring manners of a Swiss president usually are even more admirable than the humility of Cincinnatus. Such virtues, however, did not prevent President Motta and others from yielding on several occasions to Fascist pressure, from making life rather difficult to some objectionable refugees, and from sabotaging quite effectively during its final crisis the League of Nations, a guest of Swiss internationalism and democracy.

The wholesome contact with Silone's personality and with the virility of his indignation, never totally smothered by discouragement or irony, makes up for the pessimistic conclusions which a merely logical reader might draw from his book. Thomas is hardly a cynic when he says that "human history in the last analysis is always the work of man," and even drops altogether out of the role of Doubting Thomas when he confesses that he *only* believes "in miracles." Yet, the most penetrating beam of light in all the book is provided by a seemingly casual sentence on page 297: "the idea of personal liberty and freedom of conscience is not taught by way of the intellect." This sentence contains a seed, namely, a call for a new basic statement of democracy. Otherwise the days of anti-fascism are numbered, as always were the days of negative and controversial attitudes, angry at other people's idols but unable to build their own temples. This means that the dialogue of Silone leaves open the path of the future to further dialogues. They are bound to be, somehow, more Platonic.

G. A. BORGESE

Why It Happened There

A People's History of England, by A. L. Morton. New York: Random House. 527 pages. $3.

ADD THE NAME of Mr. A. L. Morton to that small but growing list of writers who are performing the valuable service of using the best results of bourgeois historical research and translating them into Marxist terms. Other historians have given us a people's history of England in the sense that their books were simple and interesting enough to be read by the layman. Mr. Morton does that and more. He has written a history of England's people, from the point of view of the great majority of those people; he has written of their thoughts, their feelings, their activi-

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FOR CHRISTMAS GIFTS

The books below have been chosen by The New Republic in its list of 100 Notable Books of 1938

MR. JUSTICE HOLMES AND THE SUPREME COURT

By Felix Frankfurter

"No book this year will be more intensively read between the lines than this one. . . . The sentences crackle and glow, the argument moves swiftly, and there is a sustained brilliance of phrase that gives an edge even to his poised and balanced judgments."—*Max Lerner*, in *The Nation*. $1.50

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN MAGAZINES

By Frank Luther Mott

"Literary history has never been made more entertaining. . . . Already an indispensable work in libraries, but it is neither a dull reference book nor a solemn chronicle. On the contrary, any one of the three volumes now in print is not only a lively history of certain aspects of American life, but an inexhaustible storehouse of human nature."—*Howard Mumford Jones*, in *Boston Transcript*. "Delightfully readable."—*American Historical Review*. Volume 1 (1741-1850), $7.50. Volume 2 (1850-1865), $5.00. Volume 3 (1865-1885), $5.00.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE MASSACHUSETTS

Author of
"BREAD AND WINE"

IGNAZIO SILONE

Smokes Out the Dictators in

THE SCHOOL FOR DICTATORS

DOROTHY THOMPSON: "This is an extraordinarily witty and amusing book. Silone has written a new Machiavelli. There is enormous common sense in it—refreshing these days—and it is the first amusing book on Fascism that I have read."

JOHN GUNTHER: "Wise, witty, wicked, wonderful."

A Story Press Book

$2.50 • HARPERS

ties, and the forces that made them change. The wars, the politics, the schemes of the great are also contained here; and so, too, are the economic forces that dictated the form they would take. This people's history is comprehensible.

Mr. Morton's book is aimed at the general reader, but it is not an introduction to the history of England. He omits many details, even some important events which are usually found in the traditional histories. But to one who is familiar with those traditional histories, this essay in interpretation, this simple straightforward chronological account with its different emphasis, makes sense out of the nonsense which went by the name of history before.

The author has read widely and winnowed wisely. He uses to perfection the excellent device of quoting source material and drawing important generalizations from it. "The Danes were traders as well as pirates, and commerce was reckoned honorable among them. 'If a merchant thrived so that he fared thrice across the seas by his own means, then he was thenceforth of thaneright worthy,' runs an early law, reminding us that classes among the Scandinavians as among the English were based rather upon wealth and social position than upon blood or inherited rights."

Again and again this technique is repeated. It is particularly noticeable in Mr. Morton's treatment of the Peasants' Rising, where in five and a half pages, by the judicious use of excellent quotations, plus keen observation founded in his twentieth-century perspective, he makes that revolt a lively, exciting story, full of significant meaning for our own problems:

> It was now that the weakness inevitable in any peasant rising began to show itself. The peasants could combine for long enough to terrorize the ruling class but had no means of exercising a permanent control over the policy of government. A peasant State was impossible because the peasants were bound sooner or later to disperse to their villages leaving the landlords in control of the apparatus. . . . The promises twice made by the King were repudiated and the common people of England learned, not for the last time, how unwise it was to trust to the good faith of their rulers.

Magna Carta, the Wars of the Roses, the spoliation of Ireland, the Industrial Revolution and most of the other familiar big topics receive stimulating fresh treatment. Particularly outstanding is Mr. Morton's discussion of seventeenth-century England; the fifty-four pages on the English Revolution are superb.

I am certain that the author was as good a schoolmaster as he is a writer. For here, on every page, he makes it quite plain where he is dealing with things historians know, and where they are guessing; here, too, is that interest in and respect for the material, that sort of let's-investigate-this-problem-together air, which distinguishes the able teacher.

The book is illustrated with fifteen sketch maps by J. F. Horrabin, who is as preëminent in this field as David Low in the field of political cartoons. It is unfortunate that the index is so very bad. It is chiefly a list of people and places. If one wanted to refer again to the author's treatment of some important concept, it would be of no help whatsoever. I hope this will be corrected in a later edition. The value of this book is too great to have it spoiled in any way.

LEO HUBERMAN

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How Life Began

The Origin of Life, by A. I. Oparin. Translated by Sergius Morgulis. New York: The Macmillan Company. 280 pages. $2.75.
Biology and Marxism, by Marcel Prenant. Translated by C. Desmond Greaves. New York: International Publishers. 246 pages. $2.50.

HOW DID LIFE BEGIN? In its efforts to answer this question, the colossal egoism of the human mind has resorted to every trick of philosophy, metaphysics, religion and ethics. The scientists, more humble and patient but equally helpless, fought the idealists with a great variety of plausible theories: spontaneous generation, vitalism, panspermia, cosmozoism, archegony—one after another their materialist weapons broke in their hands. "Life" remained a mystery; something different from "matter" not merely in degree but in absolute kind—a Great Irrational still awaiting inclusion in the domain of natural law.

It is singularly appropriate that this fascinating problem should be reviewed for us by a member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Professor Oparin, a biochemist of great ability, and thoroughly grounded in the history of his subject, vigorously denies that there can be any "absolute and fundamental difference between a living organism and lifeless matter." His first concern—and one with which the non-technical reader will be most in sympathy—is to give us a closely reasoned critique of the many theories which have held the field from the time of Thales and Aristotle (originator of the versatile concept of the "entelechy") down to the contemporary period. The shrewd speculations of Haeckel, Bastian and Pflueger, with their emphasis upon mechanist forces operating without benefit of God or devil, are properly evaluated, and their weaknesses exposed; and the other group of theories based on the "eternity of life" and associated with such men as Liebig, Preyer, von Helmholtz and Svante Arrhenius is also examined and found even more wanting in the light of our present knowledge.

All this by way of preparation for the author's own attempt to lay the groundwork for a strictly biochemical explanation of the origin of life, which will avoid the pitfalls of a naïve mechanism on the one hand and of "vitalist" assumptions on the other. This portion of the book, highly technical in character but fully deserving close study, takes us from the origin of our earth and traces the formation of the hydrocarbon compounds from their most primitive varieties up to the enormously complex colloidal systems whose curious property of "unscrambling" themselves (known as "coazervation," as contrasted with coagulation) gives us our first hint as to the nature of living matter. It is with these "coazervate gels" and their remarkable properties that Oparin builds up his speculations on the dialectical emergence of life as a definite property of hitherto "lifeless" matter. Reading him, you have the impression of a veil lifting, not yet by any means high enough, but sufficiently to sense that a great riddle—more difficult than any yet faced by the human mind—is on the way to a solution.

Quite aside from the scientific validity of his conclusions on a question which he himself admits to be far from settled

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in detail, Professor Oparin has in his significant book shown us something of the great power of the dialectical materialist approach in correctly formulating basic problems in nature. For this alone he—and his able translator, the American biochemist Professor Morgulis—are to be warmly thanked by all who know that science is nothing if not a challenge to tradition.

"Biology and Marxism," by Marcel Prenant, is an important and stimulating book, in which our knowledge of, and ideas about, evolution are reviewed by a French biologist who accepts, frankly and without reserve, the dialectics of Marx, Engels and Lenin. In Part I the "Biological Basis of Marxism" is discussed with reference to the development of life-forms from their first appearance on earth to the highest types of organized human societies. Part II subjects a wide range of special biological topics to the dialectical analysis, with particular attention to the problems of heredity, instinct, intelligence and human techniques; and in Part III the mutual relations among biology, sociology and the class struggle are clarified, not as a mere academic exercise but as a guide to further progress, both scientific and social. Citations from Marxist literature are extensive, but the argument is refreshingly free of narrow sectarianism, so that even the reader who may strongly disagree on points of detail cannot resist the author's invigorating provocation to independent thought on many scientific and social problems.

HAROLD WARD

He, Belisarius

Count Belisarius, by Robert Graves. New York: Random House. 564 pages. $3.

MR. GRAVES has chosen his theme most skillfully. Military gifts as brilliant as those of Marlborough, Amr or Julius Caesar, valor and patience on the heroic scale, stand out boldly against the background of Justinian's palaceful of intrigue, wit, parsimony, theology and malice. Belisarius' fall, whether or not he was really too dangerous a subject for an unmilitary despot was as spectacularly rapid as his triumph, and more complex. A historian of genius recorded both; and Gibbon's rearrangement of Procopius is far enough from our present mode to be no more than a prop or a check to the novelist.

Mr. Graves gets his careful detail across without lecturing, by writing in the guise of a contemporary, a lesser Procopius, in the service of the general's show-girl wife. Among complications of war and intrigue that might easily have become baffling, he keeps the story quick and clear. The imaginary narrator, if not Mr. Graves, may be excused for exalting his hero by denying or sliding over the extraordinary ability of Justinian's administration, and by giving Belisarius credit for military reforms that Justin really began. But he makes too little of the suppressed rebellion of Constantinople—the whiff of grape-shot of that despotism—and finds alibis for the failure of Belisarius' first big campaign. The real hero learned by his errors; the novelist's was militarily infallible.

Of Theodora, he makes a less-than-half-converted pagan, more credible than the repentant harlot of tradition. His battles are much less crabbed reading than battles usually are. His scandal is good scandal.

BASIL BUNTING

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Shanghai to Istanbul

The Silk Road, by Sven Hedin. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 322 pages, with 31 plates and a map. $5.

SVEN HEDIN'S JOB for the Chinese government—to survey a proposed motor road from Eastern China into the heart of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan)—was a heaven-sent opportunity for a man whose dearest aim for years had been the linking of Europe and Asia by the construction of a modern highway from Shanghai, through Samarkand to Istanbul. In the main this road would be bound to follow the famous Silk Road by which, from pre-Christian times, China's most valued export was carried thousands of miles by camel and cart to Europe and Asia Minor. With the development of sea commerce the Silk Road lost its significance to all but small traders; with the development of the Japanese empire it has found a new significance and hundreds of thousands of men are reported laboring on its eastern section today to carry arms from Russia to the Chinese lines.

This is unquestionably the most interesting aspect of Hedin's book, and for those who are studying significant factors in the Sino-Japanese war it is of principal importance. In addition the book brings news from Sinkiang—that mysterious buffer province between Russia and British India which is now become a Russian state in all but name and is one of the few remaining sections of the earth virtually closed to newshawks. Hedin believes that Sinkiang may eventually become the Russo-Japanese battleground, should Japan decide to extend her aggression in China and openly include with it a struggle for the mastery of Asia.

RICHARD VAUGHAN

New Books: A Reader's List

ARABIAN ANTIC, by Ladislas Farago (Sheridan House, $2.50). Arabia infelix. A London journalist starts out to explore the Yemen (a wealthy Arab state still governed by its own ruler, believe it or not) and does his exploration as guest-prisoner in one guarded house. No British desired. An entertaining study of Arab life and politics; particularly an exposé of rising Italian influence in the Red Sea district, while Britain waives the rules.

OUR PROMISED LAND, by Richard L. Neuberger (Macmillan, $3). A vividly written, well informed and exciting story about the great Pacific Northwest, whose natural resources and social potentialities have long been a major standby for the New Deal. High spots in the book are the accounts of the Grand Coulee-Columbia River power project, the timber and fishing industries, the Mormons, Senator Borah and the bitter labor war between Dave Beck and Harry Bridges.

BROTHERS IN CRIME, by Clifford R. Shaw, Henry D. McKay, James F. McDonald and Others (Chicago, $3). Sponsored by the Institute for Juvenile Research and the Behavior Research Fund, this story of the five Martin boys —much of it in the form of autobiography—is an extraordinarily revealing case-record of the social forces that produce our "Dead End Kids." A vital contribution to the problem of juvenile delinquency, with the blame laid squarely upon the environment.

THE SCIENTIST IN ACTION: A SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF HIS METHODS, by William H. George (Emerson Books, $3). A stimulating analysis of the principles of scientific research regarded as a special type of human action. The author (a British physicist) develops the thesis that

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"facts" are valueless unless arranged in such "patterns" (theories) as will give rise to ever broadening knowledge and more effective action, both technical and social.

LOUIS XIV, by Hilaire Belloc. (Harpers. $3.75). The study of a character, and of the principle of government which that character embodied—Monarchy. The author's political philosophy is that of Hobbes and Disraeli. Kingship is the natural expression of man's desire to be ruled; alternative is aristocracy sinking into plutocracy. Mr. Belloc writes with his usual determination to give the Catholic Church the best of every argument, and in his usual pontifical style.

WE SAW IT HAPPEN: The News Behind the News That's Fit to Print, by thirteen correspondents of The New York Times (Simon and Schuster, $3). Personalized stories of national, local and international politics; finance, exploration, sports, stage and Hollywood—plus the Sacco-Vanzetti case—by Times men, writing as they please. Vital topics treated on a better-than-usual level.

MILLIONS ON WHEELS, by Dewey H. Palmer and Laurence E. Crooks (Vanguard, $2.50). An invaluable guide for the 25,000,000 motorists in this country, advising and informing them about every structural detail and functional oddity of the modern automobile. Written by the technical supervisor of Consumers' Union in collaboration with an expert from the Society of Automotive Engineers. Names names, tells how to buy and run cars as cheaply as possible.

F.O.B. DETROIT, by Wessel Smitter (Harpers, $2.50). A rapid-paced novel about the automobile workers and their rivalries and loves. Will not suit the proponents of "proletarian" literature, since there is no union activity, and the only clear-cut enemy of the workers is the Machine. Good characterization.

Contributors

KATHERINE CARR joined the staff of Fortune to head the research for its South American series, published last spring. She recently resigned to do free-lance writing.

BABETTE DEUTSCH's latest book is "This Modern Poetry," published in this country by W. W. Norton and in England by Faber and Faber.

LEO H. LEHMANN, for many years a priest of the Roman Church, is the author of "The Soul of a Priest" and "Ex-Priest and the Riddle of Religion."

W. T. COUCH is the director of the University of North Carolina Press.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON is the author of many books, including "The Robber Barons," biographies of Zola and Rousseau and "The Politicos."

G. A. BORGESE, author of "Goliath: The March of Fascism," is a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago.

LEO HUBERMAN, author of "We, The People," "Man's Worldly Goods" and "The Labor Spy Racket," is in the Social Science department of New College, Columbia University.

HAROLD WARD is a former science editor of The Living Age, whose special interest is in the social aspects of science and technology.

BASIL BUNTING is an English writer, author of "Redimiculum Matellarum" and "Chomei at Toyama."

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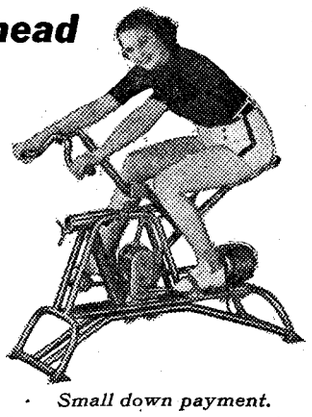

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